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# MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S PROPOSALS.

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR JOHN E. GORST, M.P.

THE Unionist party in Great Britain was lucky in the General Elections of 1895 and 1900. In the former, the amelioration of the condition of the people was put forward as an alternative programme to the separation of Ireland from Great Britain. In the latter, which took place in the middle of the Boer War, it was proclaimed that a vote for the opponents of the Government was a vote given to the public enemy. But, since 1895, little has been done to improve the condition of the people, which to those who look below the surface is pregnant with danger; and, since 1900, the glamour of the war has gone; the people are looking about to see what they have gained by it, but perceive only the burdens and difficulties which it has left behind. There is thus an immediate need of a fresh platform for the next election, and it is this which Mr. Chamberlain is endeavoring to supply. His first suggestion was to go for the consolidation of the British Empire by means of a tax on the food of the British people; but his proposals change from day to day, and have now assumed the shape of fiscal retaliation on foreign countries, and especially upon Germany, for their hostile tariffs, with the British Empire and the bread-tax in the background. This declaration of a policy was made by Mr. Cham-



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berlain without previous consultation with his colleagues in the Government; it took them as completely by surprise as it did the British people and the world at large. There is nothing new in either of the proposals, or in any of the arguments by which they are supported. They have frequently been propounded and discussed in Great Britain during the last quarter of a century. The thing that is new is that they should be fathered by a person of such political position and influence, and be put forward as the platform for a great party at a General Election.

Several members of the Cabinet are notoriously opposed to the new policy, but the unity of the Government is preserved for the moment by a pretended inquiry into the whole fiscal system of Great Britain, and an invitation to discussion given to a House of Commons that has been effectually gagged. To inquiry there can be no objection, though it is evident that it should have been held before, and not after, the promulgation of the policy. In all sciences it is necessary now and then to go back to first principles with those unacquainted with the subject. Politicians have long paraded ignorance of political economy as a merit. That they should now desire to inform themselves on the subject is satisfactory. The materials are all ready to hand in official papers, and only require arranging. The object is to ascertain the effect of Free Trade on the industry, commerce, and condition of the British people. That these are subject to other influences, far stronger than those of tariffs, does not seem to be taken into account. It will be difficult to separate the effects caused by taxes from those caused by other influences, and the separation will probably not be attempted. The argument will be conducted on the old logical fallacy of "*post hoc, ergo propter hoc.*" The prosperity of Free Trade countries, like Great Britain, India and Egypt, will be set in competition with that of Protectionist countries, like Germany, France and the United States. Protection cannot in every case prevent prosperity; nor Free Trade, decay.

The original form in which Mr. Chamberlain presented his new policy was, for electoral purposes, ill-judged. Trade preference to the Colonies involved, as he frankly declared, a tax upon the food or raw material coming from foreign countries. A tax on raw material was not to be thought of; it would cripple the industries of Great Britain in a worse manner than hostile tariffs. There remained only food. There would have been plenty of false

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prophets quite ready to argue and declare, in defiance of the principles of political economy, that taxation of food does not tend to raise the price of food, and to ignore the fact that, if it did not, no benefit would be conferred on the Colonies. But the ground has been cut from under their feet by the declaration of Mr. Chamberlain that his policy would raise the price of food. He accompanied this, it is true, by the promise that it would also raise wages—an example of how much more powerful, in British politics, audacity of statement is than scientific truth. But a rise in the price of food is the one thing that nobody has ever yet persuaded the British workman to accept. Future promises of better trade, more employment, higher wages, and a great and glorious Colonial Empire would, at an election, be vehemently made by one party, and as vehemently discredited by the other. As to these, the mind of the elector would be in doubt and bewilderment. But the present certainty of increased cost of food will be nakedly before him, reluctantly admitted by one side, pressed on him with all the arts of eloquence by the other. To which will he incline?

To estimate the possibility of persuading the electors to adopt a scheme which involves a tax on food, the true economic condition of the people of the United Kingdom must be taken into consideration. The mass are workers, whose life is a continuous struggle to obtain for themselves and their families food, clothing and shelter. There is a certain sum of money which will purchase enough of these necessaries to secure moderate comfort. This is called "the living wage." It varies in different parts of the country, owing chiefly to variations in the price, not of food or clothing, but of shelter. What proportion of the people fail to obtain this living wage cannot be certainly and accurately determined by any statistics in existence. The best conjecture seems to be that it cannot be less than thirty per cent. These people are half-starving themselves, and are bringing up half-starving families of children. The condition of disease, debility and defective sight and hearing, in the public elementary schools in poorer districts, is appalling. The research of a recent Royal Commission has disclosed that of the children in the public schools of Edinburgh, seventy per cent. are suffering from disease of some kind, more than half from defective vision, nearly half from defective hearing, and thirty per cent. from starvation. The physical deteriora-

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tion of the recruits who offer themselves for the army is a subject of increasing concern. There are grounds for at least suspecting a growing degeneracy of the population of the United Kingdom, particularly in the great towns. What will be the effect of a sudden increase in the price of food upon a people in such a condition?

In the first instance, the scale of the minimum wage, that is, the number of shillings required for the maintenance in reasonable comfort of the workman and his family, would be everywhere raised. A number of those who are now above the poverty line would be submerged below it, and those already below it would sink still lower down into deeper distress. Such an augmentation of the present menacing destitution of the mass of the population in the British Isles could not be borne. The people could only be persuaded to accept it by the arts of unscrupulous demagogues; and the actual experience of such a catastrophe would create a revulsion so violent as to threaten the stability of society. But, say the supporters of the Scheme, with a fine disregard of economic principles, a rise in the price of food will raise wages. The proposition is untrue, and no attempt is made to prove the assertion. The struggle for the minimum wage would become fiercer, but not of necessity more successful. Colonial preference would only have even a tendency to raise wages in those industries which became more active and prosperous under such a system. In them the increased wages would have to be fought for. Among the rest of the workmen, the necessity of spending a greater part of their wages on food would diminish the sum available for the purchase of other commodities, and would thus lessen their demand for the product of home industries. This would tend to restrict production in those industries, and to throw workmen out of employment, whose competition in the general labor market would tend to lower instead of to raise wages. But what evidence is there, apart from reckless assertion, that any industries will become more prosperous? It is certain that no self-governing British Colony will abandon the protection of Colonial against British manufactures. Their settled policy is the protection of their infant industries against the competition of other countries. The utmost they will do is to give a preference to Great Britain over foreign countries in supplying those manufactured articles which they cannot supply themselves, and which it is therefore still necessary for

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them to import. Such a preference has been given for some years by Canada. The Colonial Secretary of Great Britain, at the Conference of Colonial premiers in 1902, gratefully acknowledged the intention of this proposal, and its sentimental value as a proof of good-will and affection, but its substantial results had, he said, been altogether disappointing to him, and he thought they must have been equally disappointing to its promoters. While the free trade of Canada, upon which no duty is levied, had increased by sixty-seven per cent.; and the general trade, that is, the trade from foreign countries under the general tariff, by sixty-two per cent.; the preferential trade, that is, the trade in articles in which one-third of the duty was remitted to British goods, had increased by fifty-five per cent. only. In the case of textile manufactures, which form more than two-thirds of the total British export to Canada, although the rapid falling off prevailing at the time when preference was instituted was arrested, the increase under preference of imports of textiles into Canada from the United Kingdom was not quite so great as that from other sources.

The market in which the Colonies can handicap foreign countries in favor of Great Britain by discriminating tariffs, is not large. It consists of those imports from foreign countries which British trade could supply, and has been estimated at twenty millions only. The experiment in Canada does not warrant the belief that Great Britain could monopolize the whole of it; but, whatever its value, the portion which she secures is all she is to get in return for the tax on food. Compared with the total British export trade of 350 millions, it is insignificant. But is there nothing on the other side to be lost or jeopardized? The exports of Great Britain to foreign countries are twice as great as those to her own possessions. Is there no danger of this trade being injured? Countries which have hostile tariffs may, by increasing those tariffs, cause a further diminution in the demand in their territories for British manufactures. If wages are raised in any industries in Great Britain as a consequence of Colonial preference, the cost of production will be thereby increased, and the commodities will, in consequence, be handicapped in the competition in the general markets of the world. If an account is taken on both sides, may not the gain in exports to the Colonies be more than balanced by the loss elsewhere? If so, the industries which manufacture for external trade will also suffer; workmen will have to

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be discharged; their competition in the general labor market will still further tend to lower wages; and the result of Great Britain's experiment in commercial policy may be a diminution of wages as well as an increase in the price of food.

It was noted by the Premiers, at the Conference of 1892, that the circumstances of the different Colonies differed so widely that no arrangement applicable to all could be devised. To carry out, therefore, the policy of giving commercial preference over foreign nations to the several parts of the British Empire, there would have to be separate bargains with each of the self-governing Colonies, and a revision of the fiscal systems of India and each of the Crown Colonies which have hitherto been administered on Free Trade principles. On the side of the people of the United Kingdom, what these arrangements will cost them is clear enough. They will have to pay a tax in the increased price of their food. Of this, part will find its way into the national exchequer as revenue; part, into the pockets of the farmers and landlords at home, as long as Colonial competition does not drive British food out of the home market; and part into those of the Colonial producers of food. The first part is to provide a fund for old-age pensions. But, as the food-growing capacity of the Colonies is stimulated and developed by the high prices kept up, and as they supply more and more of the food consumed by the people of the United Kingdom, the first part will dwindle away. With it will disappear the fund for old-age pensions. If the dreams of Imperialists be realized and the Empire become self-contained, there will also disappear that great security for the peace of the world involved in the fact that Great Britain is the best customer for the surplus food produced by the United States of America. But, until the Empire does become self-supporting, Great Britain will continue to pay a tax to her Colonies in the shape of an enhanced price of her food. What the people of the United Kingdom are to gain is by no means so clear and certain. It depends on the solution of the difficult economic problems above indicated. Will the export of British manufactures to the Colonies increase? Will that increase more than counterbalance the decrease of such exports to other countries? If both these questions are answered in the affirmative, the producers of certain articles may make increased profits, and the work-people may, as a consequence, obtain increased wages. Whether the possible future gain to certain

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members of the community balances the certainty of immediate loss to everybody, is the question which the people, when consulted by a dissolution of Parliament, have to decide.

If the condition of the people of the United Kingdom is such that they are incapable of undertaking the burdens which it is proposed to put upon them, it seems superfluous to discuss the value of the "Consolidation of the Empire," which is to be their reward. They have been willing to fight for it; man is by nature a fighting animal; and war is, while it is going on, generally popular with mankind. But people cannot be expected to endure, in cold blood, hunger for a cause which they do not understand. The Colonies are at present united to the Mother Country by the closest bonds, though bonds of sentiment only. They have a common sovereign, who in no way interferes with their political freedom, a common origin, a common literature, a common language. Numbers of their citizens are united by common ties of family relationship. They are as free to make their own laws, to raise their own revenues, to develop their own ideals, as if they were independent states. Their commerce is secured, and their territories protected against invasion by the fleet of the Mother Country, to which they make only such contribution as they think fit. Their loyalty is unquestioned. Their sympathy with the Mother Country and their readiness to come to her aid in time of war have, on many recent occasions, been practically exemplified. Why should not Great Britain be satisfied with this real and useful, though informal, union; why should she risk the snapping of the bond in an attempt to draw it closer? Several conferences have recently been held between the representatives of Great Britain and her self-governing Colonies. No suggestions of closer political union have come from the Colonies. Proposals for a military confederation were, happily for Great Britain herself, rejected. The Colonies were unwilling even to contribute a proportionate share of the cost of the Imperial Navy. Canada could not undertake to contribute at all. It is true that the self-governing Colonies have asked for commercial preference, and have intimated that no preference will be of advantage to them but one in the importation into Great Britain of food or raw material. No one can blame the Colonies for asking for that which is obviously for their interest. But neither can they blame the Mother Country for declining a burden she is unable to bear.

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Nobody dreams now of taxing Colonies or Dependencies for the benefit of the Mother Country; they, on their side, must not dream of taxing the Mother Country.

It is not at all certain that the bonds of commercial contracts would conduce to a more stable union between Great Britain and her Colonies. Each party to a customs arrangement might conceive itself to be getting the worse of the bargain. Yet, if the step were once taken, neither party could break loose without risk of offending the other. Great Britain might find herself hampered in negotiations with other states. Colonies might have to forego advantageous offers, such, for instance, as the United States might any day make to Canada. The policy might result in division rather than consolidation.

But it has already become pretty clear that the taxation of food, for the purpose of consolidating the Empire, will not do as an election cry. Electors can be stirred up to fight, but it is hard to persuade them to hunger. Taxation of Food has thus retired into the background, and is kept out of sight as much as possible, and Retaliation has come to the front. Great Britain is, by the imposition of new customs duties, to punish foreign countries, and especially Germany, for their hostile tariffs. She is by the same expedient to prevent retaliation on the Colonies for any commercial preference they may accord to Great Britain; and, in the process, she will incidentally protect British industries. Such a cry is not unlikely to be popular. A war of tariffs furnishes a mild joy, of the same character as the fiercer joy of a war of bloodshed. Nations are not so altruistic as to rejoice in the progress and prosperity of their neighbors, especially when accompanied by an alleged diminution of their own. Germany is specially obnoxious to the commercial and industrial classes of Great Britain. So long as Mr. Chamberlain's supporters are only required to express a pious opinion in favor of retaliation in general, and employ themselves in an inquiry into our fiscal system without pledging themselves to any specific scheme, he will be at the head of a sanguine and united party. It is when a definite plan is promulgated, and the commodities to be taxed are specifically set forth, that difficulties will begin.

Nobody has yet succeeded in suggesting a retaliatory tax that would not hurt the retaliator more than the country to be punished. Great Britain's imports of German manufactures, which are

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less than half the exports of British manufactures to Germany, consist largely of half-finished articles, which are the "raw material" of finishing industries in Great Britain. It is the trade in these half-finished products that has most injured corresponding industries in Great Britain. The production of a schedule of those articles made in Germany, which it was proposed to subject to a prohibitory import duty, would be a death-blow to the entire policy of retaliation. The manufactured article of one industry would prove to be the raw material of another. Great Britain is free at this moment to denounce her commercial treaties, and to embark on a war of tariffs, with all her commercial competitors. Nothing but the unwisdom of such a course restrains her. There have been times in recent history when the whole British people was inclined to retaliation. Such a crisis occurred after the denunciation of the French Treaty negotiated by Mr. Cobden. But a sober examination of the position showed that there was no commodity imported from France the taxation of which would seriously injure French trade, or have any further economic effect than to cause inconvenience and expense to certain classes in the United Kingdom. The idea was then reluctantly given up. At the present moment, the success of Germany in certain branches of manufacture, and the alleged consequent decay of some British industries, have given rise to a similar sentiment. German success from a British point of view is to be regretted; but the failure of Great Britain cannot be cured by so simple a method as a prohibitory import duty on these excellent German manufactures. That would at most protect the inferior British article in the British market, not in the markets of the world. The technical education of a more skilful class of workmen, and the employment by the capitalist of more scientific methods, furnish the slower, but only effective, way of restoring the supremacy of British industry. In the world's competition, victory will belong to that nation which breeds the strongest and cleverest workers, and applies to its industries the best scientific methods. Let those who think otherwise, and believe that so coarse and brutal a method as a tax can confer ascendency, announce explicitly upon what commodities the tax is to be imposed.

But it must not be overlooked that this second proposal, which is at the present moment being assiduously and adroitly substituted for the first, raises an entirely different question. It is one

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which involves only the interests of British manufacturers, not the consolidation of the Empire at all. Preferential treatment of the Colonies, involving, as it must, a stipulation with them to impose a certain minimum duty on food or raw material imported from foreign countries, would seriously hamper Great Britain in a war of tariffs. She would have deprived herself of the power of reducing, at her own will, the duties on food or raw material below the standard agreed on. She could make no concession that would be of any value to such a country as the United States, without first obtaining the consent of all the Colonies, whose interest it would be to insist on the maintenance of high tariffs. Nor is the adoption of a policy of retaliation either desired by, or of much advantage to, the Colonies. The question was fully considered at the Conference of Colonial Premiers in 1902. Germany had threatened to retaliate upon Canada for her preferential treatment of Great Britain. As the self-governing Colonies have up to the present time been independent fiscal authorities, no complaint can be fairly made against Germany for treating Canada as such in commercial negotiation. But Canada brought under the consideration of the Conference the possibility of the Colonies losing "most favored nation" treatment in foreign countries, in the event of their giving a tariff preference to British goods. It was, however, observed by the Conference that the exports from the Colonies to foreign countries consisted almost exclusively of articles of food or raw materials for various industries, and the possibility of discrimination against them in foreign markets was not regarded as serious. They also observed that the exports from foreign countries to the Colonies were mainly manufactured articles, and it was therefore recognized that, if discrimination did take place, the Colonies had an effective remedy in their own hands. In plain words, they declared themselves quite competent to protect themselves, without the intervention of the Mother Country.

That which will make a policy of retaliation popular at an election is the hope, cherished by every elector, that not only will the insolent foreigner receive a rebuff, not only will the Colonies be safeguarded by the Mother Country from the insolent foreigner's hostile designs, but a little substantial protection will be incidentally conferred upon the particular industry in which he is personally interested. Nothing will entirely dissipate this hope,

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except the production of a concrete schedule of the articles which it is proposed to tax. Such a schedule will be carefully withheld until the elections are over. The taxation of manufactured articles from Germany or elsewhere is, however, a small matter, as compared with the greater scheme at the front of which it is for the moment placed. It may disturb a number of minor industries; it will not create a famine or a revolution. The preferential treatment of the Colonies, and the inevitable increase, according to Mr. Chamberlain's own statement, of the price of food, are still in the background. If this proposal is definitely withdrawn, the controversy sinks into one of minor importance. It is only the old idea of Protection, *alias* Fair Trade, *alias* Reciprocity, *alias* Retaliation, which has been continually paraded before the British public for more than a generation. But, if the Colonial preference and the consequent tax on food are persisted in, Great Britain is embarking upon a contest in which her very life is at stake. It is an attempt to place upon the back of the people a burden which they cannot in their present condition bear. If they are deluded by the oracles of false prophets into attempting to undertake it, they will be crushed to the ground.

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# THE PROPOSED BRITISH ZOLLVEREIN.

BY ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.

To any one acquainted with the supreme indifferentism of the average Briton towards political affairs, outside questions of local import, the wave of excitement which is now passing over the country must afford a certain grim amusement. It is as though the Colonial Secretary had thrown a bomb into the arena of national life, and yet many people have been working long towards such a point as is now reached, and there is nothing absolutely new in what is being termed "the New Fiscal Policy." The secret of this great awakening does not lie in the profound attachment of the British people to Free Trade principles—indeed, of late years, we have heard Protection urged from many quarters; it is due rather to the startling form in which Mr. Chamberlain makes his proposal and to the fact that, oblivious of party tactics, he is prepared to go to the country on this issue alone. Although the attitude of Mr. Chamberlain and his personality are, after all, only incidents in what is really a great epoch in our history, and should not be allowed to bulk too largely in the discussion which is now beginning, a few words may be said on the subject.

The Colonial Secretary has always stood to his fellow Britons, admirers or detractors, as the type of audacious, successful, and not too scrupulous cleverness. He has, moreover, acquired a reputation for backbone which has commended him to men in the Colonial service, who had suffered from the wobbling of previous chiefs, and in the same way to the unconventional and daring Colonials in all quarters, who have no sympathy with kid-glove diplomatists. There is good reason to believe that Mr. Chamberlain counted on this reputation when he took the bit between his teeth and made the announcements which have plunged the whole country into confusion; but his motive for acting as he has done

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seems to me to be simpler than is usually supposed. He has so long been credited with Machiavellian designs that even some of his quondam supporters, who condemn his action as a tactical mistake, are casting round for some deep-laid scheme in connection with it. My own belief is, that Mr. Chamberlain has fallen under a spell which all of us who know Greater Britain at first hand must feel, sooner or later. For some time, his connection with Colonial affairs had been modifying his views on many matters; but a visit, even a brief one, to the "illimitable veldt" came as a vivifying flash to his brain. The change of focus in his views, of which he spoke in one of his speeches, is a thing many of us have felt. Downing Street ceased to be the centre of the universe and became a mere dot on the horizon of empire. Those of us who have breathed this wider atmosphere can appreciate the difference it made to a man ripe with experience of Colonial affairs, able to read into the whole the spirit of a single part. We see, therefore, no longer the taciturn, adroit, successful party leader, but the statesman with a great idea, ready to stake all on a single throw; for there can be no doubt that on this issue will depend Mr. Chamberlain's future career.

It is not my desire in discussing the proposals to pronounce summarily on any of the points of view from which the economic side of the question has been set forth. Up to the present, there has been no very convincing pronouncement, and it will be, I think, more satisfactory at the present stage to clear away some of the tangled undergrowth which seems to have sprung up so plentifully as to obscure the essential points at issue.

It is obviously necessary for any one who wishes to arrive at a clear understanding of the proposals to put on one side all considerations of party. This, under our Parliamentary system, is a practical impossibility for those actively engaged in party warfare; but there is no reason why the nation at large should not view the question entirely on its merits, since it is not a party measure at all and, whichever way it may be decided, must result in a great deal of reconstruction in party organization. The next essential is the realization that this is not a matter which can be settled by appeal to classical authorities. Any argument based on the decisions of fifty years ago is so open to objections as to be useless. A glance at the discussions which have already taken place in Parliament, on the platform and in the press shows that

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the "classical authorities," such as Adam Smith or Ricardo, can be quoted with relevance on both sides. The principle of Free Trade is incontrovertible, but it has not acted in the way in which its early dogmatists predicted, and their hypotheses, therefore, fall to the ground or afford material for "heretics." It is a significant fact that the followers of Cobden have always chosen to call those who dissent from them "heretics." Cobden himself spoke of pushing his idea by introducing into it "a religious and moral import." Now, Great Britain has always been noted for its distaste for dogma, and we need not be frightened because a self-constituted hierarchy accuses us of being, in fact, Protestants. The burden of proof, to my mind, lies not with the dissenters but with the orthodox, who have to show, first, the infallibility of their prophets and, secondly, the practical application of their creed to the altered conditions of the world. We are waiting for this pronouncement on the part of the Cobdenites; so far they have educed only one argument—the prosperity of the country under Free Trade.

By "prosperity" is meant, presumably, the increase of trade and national wealth, and the consequent rise in the general standard of living. No one can deny these, but it has to be remembered that almost simultaneously with the repeal of the corn laws, in 1846, and the adoption of Free Trade principles came the utilization of steam for mechanical purposes and the immense impetus to inventions, industries, and communications given by the "Great Exhibition" in 1851. All these things, which wrought a revolution, must receive their due share of credit for the increasing prosperity of the Empire. We must also remember that, in speaking of the Empire as flourishing under Free Trade, many people leave out of account the fact that the United Kingdom alone has been a free-trader. We are not and have never been a Free Trade Empire; nor have our Colonies been built up on a Free Trade basis.

Free Trade in the United Kingdom was a stage in our historical development, just as necessary and beneficial as the Commonwealth period, but no more essentially permanent. "The spirit of Britain," wrote Herman Merivale, "is volatile, not fixed." We are pledged to nothing save to act in the way most consonant with our interests in the year 1903.

Party considerations and ancient shibboleths are, however, but

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ripples on the surface, compared with the deep waters of the real question. Commercial people as we are, we should not find ourselves shaken to the inmost fibre of our being by the proposal of a change in our fiscal policy, were it not for the belief that the future of the Empire is bound up with it. Mr. Chamberlain puts the matter on this ground. "Do something to unify the Empire," he says, "or be content to lose the Colonies, and with them the dream of Empire." The "something" proposed is a reconsideration of our fiscal policy, and it must be noted that, granted the necessity for unification, we have absolutely no other practical proposal for attaining it. Many of us believed that the union might have been attained by a system of Imperial defence, which must be an integral part of any scheme for the future. This has been urged with great force, not only by the Colonial Secretary, but by some able Colonials themselves, though without success; and, although a strong supporter of the scheme, I have come to the conclusion that it is impracticable at present. The arguments used by Colonials against the adoption at present of a system of Imperial defence are certainly plausible. In answer to the statement that the Mother Country bears practically the whole burden, which must increase year by year to keep pace with the growing interests of empire and the ambitions of other Powers, they assert that, even were the defence of Colonial interests left altogether out of the question, Great Britain could not decrease her navy by one ship. Then, they can see no way of sharing the burden save by taxation, and taxation without representation is contrary to all the principles of Anglo-Saxondom. These are but two of the arguments used; and a still more cogent one is that of an actual lack of means, not unusual in young communities occupied with the opening up of new countries and its attendant expense. It must be remarked, however, that it is not the amount of their contribution which we are anxious to secure, but an acknowledgment of the principle, and this they sturdily refuse. At the bottom, however, is always the subtle consciousness that the interests of the Mother Country are not identical with those of her offspring. That is the crux of the question. It is to create this common identity of interests that we must address ourselves.

There are two arguments which, so far, seem to be the principal weapons in the hands of the Free Trade party.

First, the Empire is prosperous internally and externally, and

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does not need unification; and, second, even if it does, the proposed change will not help to unify it.

The first point takes many of us rather by surprise. We have heard so much of late years which made us gloomy as to our present condition. The newspapers and reviews, month by month, have given voice to dismal warnings about the drifting away of our Colonies, the decline of our prestige in foreign countries, the inefficiency of every branch of our public service, the decline of our industries, the depopulation of country districts, the overcrowding and disease of cities, the degeneration of the race; indeed, every side of our national, social, and economic existence has been painted in the blackest colors. We now hear a more flattering tale; but it comes with less conviction when we remember the recent conversion of its principal exponents. Britain, we are told, was never so prosperous; the proportionate rise in prosperity of other Powers only serves to show the superiority of our own country. We hear no more of trade depression, the decay of industries or the flooding of the country by foreign goods. It is true that the inevitable reaction after war has put us all in specially good spirits, but this wholesale optimism does not seem quite justified while so many disquieting social and economic problems remain unsolved. Even Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, in exalting the horn of Free Trade, could not avoid the admission that, of our forty millions, twelve are living on the edge of starvation.

It is not my purpose to attempt to hold the balance between these extremes; but I must point out that there is nothing in our present condition to make us feel confident that we have reached the height of national prosperity in its true sense. This is a point at which comparisons are usually drawn with the internal conditions of the United States and Germany; but we are told that the comparison is misleading, because of the difference of conditions between a scattered empire and one whose constituent parts are contiguous to each other. This is the argument used when people point to the prosperity of those countries; but the Free-Traders are willing to permit the analogy when it is to the advantage of the free-trading, as opposed to the protectionist, working-class. I am inclined to think the analogy is one which may now be profitably dropped out of the discussion altogether. The data for forming conclusions are insufficient, and the opinions expressed are almost all biassed. Germany, as a unified empire, has pros-

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pered as a nation, though it is possible that her individual workers have not. The same may be true of the United States, though that is contrary to a general impression. In both cases, however, the countries are free-traders within their borders, and only protectionist as regards foreigners—a contrary state of affairs to our own, in which we have partial protection both within and without the borders of the Empire.

Our internal condition will have, of course, a strong influence in deciding the question. The electoral power lies largely in the hands of the working-man, and Demos is king in monarchical England. It must be conceded that there are many aspects in our internal condition which must give rise to misgivings, but if the working-man is satisfied with Free Trade he will be the last to change it. It may be said that it is characteristic of the working classes that they are never satisfied, and that is true; but, though we may deplore it we must allow that it has its roots in the law of human progress. On the whole it cannot be denied that our working classes have made strides in mental development; no one can look back fifty years and deny that. Their tendency, however, is strongly protectionist. The very vitality of trades-unions, of socialism, lies in the principle of protection, and we may therefore expect a large measure of support for Mr. Chamberlain from the industrial centres. Manufacturers in Britain have also a protectionist bias, most of them having suffered from foreign competition. Agriculturalists to a great extent share the belief, ignorant perhaps, but founded on a bitter experience, that Free Trade has ruined them. It is impossible to enter into these different phases, but the general conclusion seems to be that, when he goes to the country, there will be a large party to back the Colonial Secretary from self-interest, apart from those who are touched by the wider Imperial view of the question.

To turn now to the wider view, the relations of the Mother-Country with the external parts of the Empire. This is a subject which can best be considered under two heads,—the practical and the sentimental.

Sir Robert Giffen, whose testimony bears more weight because he has hitherto been a confirmed Free-Trader, says that the Empire is not on a good business basis. He points out that the condition which allows foreign nations to deal separately with each fiscal unit of the Empire has an injurious effect on the minds



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of Colonials and foreigners alike. In short, he allows that the Empire is commercially disintegrated and, for that reason, is unable to formulate policies for its own advantage. We can go a good deal farther than this and say that, undoubted as are the prerogatives of the Imperial Government as regards foreign relations, treaties, peace and war, and though all the responsibility rests with it, the Colonies reserve absolute freedom of action in all contingencies, and would refuse to be bound by any arrangement which did not appear to them to be advantageous. This being the case in practical matters, we fall back upon the bond of sentiment which is being largely invoked at the present moment. That there is a great deal of Imperial sentiment in the Colonies, I should be the last to deny. There are hundreds of people in the oversea dominions to whom their connection with the Mother Country is dearer than life, and it is not for nothing that so many of our oversea kindred call this little island "home." Community of language, religion, customs, fashions, and many other points are strong ties, though, be it remarked, some of these are equally strong in the case of the United States. Aside from these sentimental considerations, we have the fact that, in giving Free Trade to the Colonies, the United Kingdom is doing far more than any foreign country will do for them in the event of separation. And yet, despite a strong conviction both here and overseas that separation would be bad policy for the Colonies, as well as a tearing of sentimental bonds, there is a strong general impression that the Empire is lacking in cohesion—to put the matter plainly, that we may break up. Whence does this impression come?

First, from the attitude of the Colonies towards Imperial defence, which has already been discussed—our Empire is not on a sound defensive basis. Secondly, from the anomalies and discrepancies in our fiscal system—our Empire is not on a sound commercial basis. Thirdly, on the general ground that the attitude of the Colonies as a whole towards us is no more satisfactory than was our attitude towards them some twenty years back. We have lately seen a wave of Imperialism in which the Colonies have received, perhaps, more recognition and laudation than was necessary; but it is not long since our foremost statesman called them "millstones about our neck," and under the circumstances we must not be surprised at an element of suspicion in the way our overtures are received. There are several points in their attitude

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which we should like to see modified, for instance in the matter of Australian emigration; but first we want to prove how genuine is our Imperialism, and that we are prepared to make sacrifices, if necessary, for the welfare of the Empire as a whole.

We must now turn, despite unavoidable *lacunae* in the argument, to the second reason against a change of fiscal policy.

Supposing the Empire to be in need of unification, say the objectors, the measure proposed will only tend to disintegrate it still further. The most obvious answer to this is, that at present we have no definite scheme, only a demand for inquiry, and that, if it be granted that the Empire falls in any way short of our ideal, we are perfectly justified in demanding a full inquiry. But this is more or less of a quibble, since most of us are rapidly making up our minds as to what direction any change must take. The Zollverein has met with no support in the Colonies, and it is conceivable that the ideal of Free Trade within the Empire would work out badly in connection with young and struggling communities at long distances from the parent. The ideal need not be abandoned, however, and in its most perfect form it can well be expanded into an Anglo-Saxon commercial union, which would bind all the people who speak the English tongue, and be the greatest Power the world has ever seen. It is therefore in the direction of preferences that public opinion is tending. The premise of Free-Traders that, to give such preferences to the Colonies would be fatal to the Empire, is based on various grounds.

First, they say, the bonus to the Colonies would be too small to materially increase their purchasing power, and the bonus they would give us in return would be infinitesimal. Second, the foreign trade of the Colonies is so small that the displacement of it would be of comparatively little advantage to us; in fact, to sum up the arguments, founded entirely on figures of the actual existing conditions of trade, there would be no visible advantage in these mutual preferences. Added to this is the contention that the United Kingdom would be called upon to make appreciable sacrifices in order to obtain these nominal advantages. They also point out that, were the preferential treatment to prove successful and the Empire to become more or less self-sustaining, the revenue for social reforms, which are promised as a compensation for sacrifices, would disappear. One of our ablest publicists speaks of the reversion to "the old 'plantation theory,' only reversed, the

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Mother Country to be exploited instead of the Colonies." This embodies in epigrammatic form the fears of many who would disclaim the epithet of Little Englanders, but whose arguments smack strangely of that school.

The most powerful answer to these arguments, which find their focus in the oft-repeated fact that we should sacrifice forty millions at home for ten millions overseas, is that we look very shortly for a great alteration in the proportion of those figures. It is the *potentialities* of the Colonies which must decide this question, and no student of American history can fail to appreciate what those potentialities are. To the contention that the successful working of preferential tariffs would defeat its own ends, as far as increase of revenue is concerned, we can reply that this may well be the case, but that on the contrary we look to a great increase of our taxable area and a decrease in the burden of defence, if not to improved industrial conditions. As for the sacrifices we shall be called upon to make, these resolve themselves on the whole into one great question—that of food supplies. Duties on imported food are allowed to be the *clou* of the situation. Mr. Chamberlain opened his proposals with the announcement that he should probably have to ask the British workman to pay more for his bread, and therein he showed himself the skilful Parliamentary hand, for he, partially at all events, took the wind out of the sails of his opponents. Mr. Chamberlain is not an economist, and in dealing with this side of the question he does not seem to feel his feet on very safe ground. There is no doubt that the cry of "dear bread" will be used for all it is worth in the election, but it is a notable fact that over this point there is considerable disagreement among the economists. It is pointed out that bread did not fall in price for twenty years after the Repeal of the Corn Laws, and there are other circumstances which make the operation of Free Trade in the matter somewhat obscure. It is less my desire to discuss the economic issues than to focus attention on the conditions which make inquiry absolutely necessary.

The question of the cost of food rests on other things besides the free importation of corn. It is obvious that, to secure a steady permanent supply, we should spread our area of supply as widely as possible. This we are not doing; we are drawing more and more from the United States, and she is rapidly reaching the period of diminished returns. Great as are her corn-producing

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areas, she will, at the present rate of increase in the urban population, be obliged shortly to limit her exports in order to supply the home market. A second disquieting circumstance is the possibility of a corn famine caused by war, for we are dependent for our food on foreign sources. In any case we see no reason to believe that the present rates will continue indefinitely; rather that, with the growth of industrialism all over the world, food prices must rise. If under present conditions we saw any prospect of a corresponding increase in our industrial prosperity, we might regard this with indifference, but it seems obvious that we have reached the high-water mark of industrial success, and owe our position very largely to the fact that we had a long start over other nations. But the idea of a self-sustaining empire precludes all possibility of failure of our sources of supply, for we have in Canada alone unlimited resources. It is estimated that well within ten years she could produce enough wheat to supply all the needs of the United Kingdom, and the tide of emigration has set towards her shores and will soon make the development of her vast resources possible.

Would the bestowal of a preference on Canadian wheat stimulate the development of that country? Canada thinks it would, and very few of us have any real doubts on the point; and with a vast increase of our trade with her would come an era of prosperity for Canadian farmers, a still stronger current of emigration from the old country, and a renewal of the bonds both of commercial interest and of sentiment. I can only note here one phase of Colonial unification, nor can I enter deeply into this side of the subject. The granting of preferential tariffs I regard as merely the first step towards federation, which would lead inevitably to common defence and representation. The means for securing these should not take the form of driving a bargain, but the strengthening of a powerful bond of common interest. To my mind the onus of proof lies with those who say that this step towards commercial unity would disintegrate instead of federating the Empire.

There is, of course, a half-expressed thought in the minds of many of the opponents of the new proposals. Even if—a very big "if"—we lose the self-governing Colonies, what will it matter? We shall still be an Empire, with India, the Crown Colonies, our world-wide trade and our unrivalled navy. It is difficult for me

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to enter into the spirit of this contention, perhaps because I have lived so much on the fringes of our Empire, and have always felt myself integrally a part of the whole, that I cannot imagine Britain as a more successful Spain, a richer Holland. And I look to our oversea dominions as the nurseries of our race, as the heritage of our children, who will, I think, be immeasurably the losers if the fate which drives them from this overcrowded island forbids them to live in white man's countries under the British flag. I have purposely refrained as much as possible from quoting "authorities" from the desire to present the case from an unbiassed point of view. I must, however, conclude with a passage from a speech of Lord Salisbury's, in 1889, feeling that the reproach of "Jingo" cannot be hurled at him:

> "If we have been able to maintain at one time an almost fabulous prosperity . . . it is because we have been the centre of a splendid empire and a converging trade. . . . If you once allow our imperial strength to fall, if you once allow our imperial fabric to be shattered . . . then, depend upon it, your imperial power will vanish like a dream. In every part of the world your weakness will be known, your great dependencies, on which your strength rests, will learn the lesson that it taught them, and you will be left to meditate in fear, in affliction, in destitution, and under the loss of all the commercial and economic advantages by which this country has been distinguished, on the folly of neglecting the truth that commercial greatness depends on imperial strength."

To the consideration of this momentous question, Lord Salisbury continued, we must bring "minds not biassed by the reflections of the past. We have to deal with a different state of things, with a different set of problems, in respect of which names, political connections and traditions of parties will help us very little."

For this reason, and because I am convinced that we need a new policy to revivify our Empire, a new bond to bind it closer, and a new spirit to animate the whole British people, overseas and at home, I welcome Mr. Chamberlain's proposal. In the inquiry which has already begun we shall take stock of our Empire, we shall learn how we really stand and what our possibilities are. We do not want to live in a fool's paradise. We want, all of us, home-born and Colonial-born, to learn our true position and to take our places accordingly.

ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.

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# MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S IMPERIAL TARIFF PLAN.

BY HENRY LOOMIS NELSON, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCES, WILLIAMS COLLEGE.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN has been a dramatic personage in English politics since the time when he was the efficient socialistic Mayor of Birmingham until now, when he is the central figure of Mr. Balfour's Imperial Conservative government. He has attracted the attention which he has seemed to court, but there is, nevertheless, a serious question as to his value to the state. He improved Birmingham physically; has he also bettered the British Empire? He has left to it the legacy of the Boer war; he is striving to unite the Empire commercially for political purposes. Will he accomplish his purpose, and would his theory make for good?

Like all of Mr. Chamberlain's political policies, there is a twisted thread in his plan to found Imperial patriotism upon a market, which, in turn, is to rest upon a false economic basis. Men are not patriotic for economic reasons, for patriotism is a sentiment which cannot be bred merely by pecuniary gains. It is true that nations may possibly come to fight for the retention of a profitable market, but experience teaches us that impassioned love of country has not yet been fired by the prospective loss of a preferential tariff, and it is probable that Mr. Chamberlain will find, if his efforts come to any conclusion at all, that nations are not built up on his commercial plan.

The British Empire is as shambling a political institution as was the Anglo-Saxon monarchy; it may need unifying, but Mr. Chamberlain's device to accomplish this end lacks the essential grace of spirituality.

In short, the theory which he has advanced and which Mr. Balfour has supported in a rather hesitating way, is wholly political and not of economic value.

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Three different plans have been outlined, as Mr. Armitage-Smith points out in "The Free Trade movement and its Results," for a trade-union between the Mother Country and the Colonies. It is naturally of Canada that we think and write when we mention the Colonies, and when Mr. Chamberlain's proposition is discussed, for Canada is not only the greatest of Great Britain's largest self-governing Colonies, but is our nearest neighbor and by far our best American customer. Mr. Chamberlain's projected union would include all of the British Colonies, but Canada is the Colony in which we are chiefly interested. The three plans are as follows: the first is, that the Colonies should adopt the British policy of Free Trade, which would be for the benefit of the people of the Colonies, and, for a time at least, to the especial advantage of the English manufacturers; the second plan is, that Great Britain and all her Colonies should raise a protective wall against the outside world, and establish Free Trade between the Colonies themselves, and between the Colonies and the Mother Country, and this would make the British Empire the largest free-trading community in the world, as the United States is at present; the third, or Mr. Chamberlain's present proposal, is, that England and her Colonies should give to one another a trade preference, the Colonies to England by reducing their rates of duty on merchandise imported from England, and England to the Colonies by imposing duties on goods taken there from foreign countries.

In passing, it is to be pointed out that this is a scheme which not only must excite international trade conflict, but which will sharpen the wits of exporters to England and to her Colonies, and must invite efforts to defeat the preferential tariffs which, if successful, will be at least detrimental to the Colonies.

The scheme is confessedly political. The British Empire hangs together loosely. England's successful Colonies are in reality great self-governing countries, which reap an enormous advantage from the maintenance of the bond with the Mother Country. They are thereby relieved of much of the cost of maintaining armies and navies, while the Mother Country has no power to demand the services of their men for the preservation of her life. No doubt there is loyalty manifested toward the Empire by Colonials, but it is the sentiment of a limited number, and even in the Boer war, the Home Country was disappointed in its manifestation.

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Mr. Chamberlain desires to create and foster Imperial patriotism in the Colonies, and it is to accomplish this purpose that he proposes mutual trade advantages for certain classes in England and for certain other classes in the Dependencies. The Colonies which have had charge of their own affairs have heretofore shown a marked independence of the Home Country. When they have established their tariff duties for the protection of their home industries, they have not excepted England from their operations. The wall has been raised against the manufacturers and exporters of the Free-Trade mother, as it has been raised against the products of the protectionist United States. It has seemed wise in the eyes of the Colonial statesmen that the manufacturers who are their constituents should be protected from the competition of the manufacturers of England. Mr. Chamberlain now suggests that the English market for Canadian agricultural products, for example, be enlarged at the expense of the farmers and manufacturers of the United States; that, in turn, English manufactures shall be admitted into Canada more cheaply; and that, furthermore, the Canadians shall become more enthusiastic Imperialists and contribute more generously, or feel like contributing more generously, to Imperial defence.

It is this last consideration which weighs most heavily in Mr. Chamberlain's mind, and therefore is it that his plan is political rather than economic.

It would be easy to show, as an economic suggestion, that Mr. Chamberlain bases his hopes upon a fallacy. It is very doubtful if he could stimulate the spirit of patriotism by any trade arrangements, but probably he could enormously increase the prosperity of the Colonies by inducing them to adopt, not his present proposition, but the proposition to establish mutual Free Trade for all countries ruled by the British government. A policy looking to the fostering of mutual love and affection by means of protection and the consequent restraint of trade, is, however, as an economic proposition, an absurd dream. It is for us, of the United States, however, to consider the possible effect which the adoption of this policy would have upon us, and upon our commerce.

It does not follow, because this policy would be of doubtful value to the people whose patriotism is intended to be stimulated by it, that it would have no effect upon the industry and commerce of this country.

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The truth is that, as a nation of producers, we are deeply concerned in Canada; that our trade relations with the Dominion are not what they should be, and that they constitute a subject for serious consideration.

Mr. Chamberlain proposes to give to Canada a better market for its products than the Dominion now enjoys. At the present time the Canadian producer of wheat, of cheese, of meat products, meets the producer of the United States as a competitor in the English markets, while the American manufacturer is handicapped in the Dominion. Mr. Chamberlain's plan is to lighten this competition in agricultural products to the advantage of the Canadian, and to help the English manufacturer in Canada. Even if a preferential tariff were granted to the Canadian producer, it does not necessarily follow that he will greatly injure us in our market, although it is probable that he will. Some years ago, this country tried the experiment and made a treaty with Brazil by means of which we obtained preferential rates of duty on some of our manufactured articles over the rates charged on the goods of other countries. The device did not help us. Great Britain continued to manufacture cotton cloths, for example, which the Brazilians liked better than they liked our goods, and, therefore, Great Britain continued to hold the trade notwithstanding our supposed advantages under the treaty. But, supposing that the device does succeed, as it well may, for conditions that made our device a failure do not prevail here, and that the British consumer buys Canadian wheat and flour and Canadian cheese and bacon, because they are cheaper than like products from the United States, while the English manufacturer increases his trade with Canada. Do we want Canada to become more and more alienated from us; do we deem it wise that she should be more and more strongly tempted to trade with other people than her neighbor? Since the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty with Canada, we have been building higher and higher our wall against her farms, and Canada has been looking for a market elsewhere, and offering her market to England. In order to tempt concessions from England, the Laurier government has made tariff preferences to English producers.

Meanwhile, our export trade to the Canadian market has been growing enormously, for the Dominion is our natural customer and market, while our interest demands that the trade

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advantages should be liberal. In 1902, as in the years before, we were the largest exporter to Canada, but the second importer from Canada. In 1902, the value of our exports to the Dominion amounted to $120,815,000, while that of the exports of Great Britain thither aggregated only $49,206,000. Great Britain, however, purchased from Canada products to the amount of $117,320,000, while we followed with purchases valued at $71,198,000, more than $1,000,000 less than our imports from Canada in 1901. The Dominion is growing rapidly, and its market is therefore becoming more and more valuable. In 1871, its population was only 3,635,024. In 1901, it was 5,371,315. This population is a little more than one to the square mile, while the population of this country is nearly 27 to the square mile. A comparatively small part of Canada's acreage is in cultivation. In a word, it has enormous opportunities for growth, and, of recent years, its growth has been both large and healthful. The kind of immigrant who is now going to Canada is of advantage to the country. The Dominion is receiving the energetic people of the Northern races, and chief among those who are seeking homes there are people from the United States. In 1898, the number of immigrants to Canada from the United States about equalled the number which went there from England. Since then, the United States immigrants have exceeded those of England, Ireland, and Scotland combined. In 1902, out of a total of arrivals numbering 64,634, the United States sent 24,000 and Great Britain 17,000. The remainder, a little more than 23,000, went from the Continent of Europe. These new settlers in 1902 obtained 2,250,000 acres of free land.

Since 1868, the imports of merchandise by the Dominion for home consumption have increased in value from $67,090,000 to $196,480,000, and, during the same time, the exports have increased from $45,527,000 to $172,611,000. When we compare the population of Canada with the value of its foreign commerce, we appreciate the enormous quantity of the latter. While the population of the United States is thirteen times greater than that of Canada, our imports are less than five times and our exports less than eight times as valuable.

The Government of the United States is now called upon to consider what our future relations should be with the second most important country in America, our largest American customer.

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Not only, indeed, is Canada this, but, in some respects, it is our most valuable customer in the world. It has been the fashion for more than twenty years to dream and to talk much of our future trade relations with the American countries south of us, but the trade between this country and Canada is the most important to us on the continent, and is now, in many important articles more valuable than our trade with the whole of the Continent of South America, combined with that of Mexico, and with that of the West Indies.

Mr. Chamberlain's proposal, if adopted, would probably build up the agricultural interests of Canada, and make our northern neighbor a more important rival than it has yet been in the largest foreign market which our own farmers possess. It is estimated that the twenty per cent. which Canada furnished of the total amount of food supplies imported by Great Britain in 1902, can be increased to eighty per cent., and this is quite within the range of probability, as we will see, when we consider that Canada has actually more unoccupied agricultural lands than we possess.

If the food supplies which we export to Great Britain were to be made dearer to the importer or to the consumer than the food supplies sent from Canada, our exports would naturally decrease, provided that the supply from Canada proportionately increased. This, however, would not be wholly the effect of Mr. Chamberlain's device. If importers paid for breadstuffs produced in the United States the price paid for Canadian products minus the English tariff tax, the American farmer would suffer directly in pocket. He would then pay the tariff tax, or part of it, out of his own pocket. In view, however, of the present English demand for foreign food products, the price of United States breadstuffs would be increased to the consumer. This increase would carry up the price of the Canadian products, in which event the British citizen would find his food more expensive than it has been.

The chances of the British corn factor for profits would be greatly increased by a tariff tax imposed on wheat from the United States, Russia, the Argentine, and other foreign countries, and the bread of England would cost more. The prospects for the Canadian farmer would, however, be brightened, for the simple reason that the demand for his products would be increased if he could

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keep up the supply. The British consumer would, of course, be obliged to put his hand in his pocket in aid of Mr. Chamberlain's political design, but what is more important to us is, that the gains of the Canadian farmer would be at our expense, and at the expense of that class of our population upon which the burdens of our tariff now weigh most heavily. There is no reason to oppose the enrichment of the Canadian farmer. On the contrary, the richer he grows the better for us, provided we change our trade relations with him and make them more natural, make them, for example, like our own inter-State relations. We ought, however, to do everything in our power to prevent the growing prosperity of Canada from operating to our injury, and we can accomplish this only by aiding that prosperity through exchanging free markets with her.

In this way, we would not only help Canada, but we would help ourselves as well in a variety of ways, not only industrially and commercially, but by the promotion of a neighborly feeling which has been sadly lacking for many years.

If we insist upon shutting Canada out of our markets,—and the statistics of our imports from the Dominion show our success in this respect—we invite the trade war with which Mr. Chamberlain threatens us. As matters stand, the Canadian is to be prospered, and whether this is to be at the expense of the British consumer as well as of the farmer of the United States is not in point. By leaving our tariff as it is, so far as Canada is concerned, we would make it possible for the Chamberlain policy to increase the riches of the Canadian farmer, to make of Canada a better market, and, then, to give the primacy in that market to the British manufacturer.

Mr. Chamberlain proposes to increase the ability of the Canadian to buy, and to offer him for his money English-made goods at prices lower than those which he would pay for United States goods. This result he expects to accomplish by imposing a tariff tax upon goods going from this country to Canada higher than the tax imposed upon English goods. If the United States manufacturer meets this effort by underselling his English competitor in Canadian markets, he will strike a serious blow at the whole fabric of protection. He will increase the hostile feeling against him due to the fact that he has long undersold the foreigner in his own market, thereby making United States protected

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products cheaper to the foreign consumer than they are to the home consumer.

Indeed, in underselling the preferred English manufacturer in the Canadian market, under the Chamberlain Imperial policy, our own protected manufacturer would not only discredit his assertion that his cost of production demands for him tariff protection, but would prove his ability not only to undersell English competitors when on even terms with them, but to pay the preferential Canadian duty into the bargain.

The fact is, as is shown by recently compiled statistics, that Canada's very propinquity makes her our customer, and that if our tariff should enable us to increase our purchases from her, the sales of our manufactures in the Dominion must keep step with growing Canadian prosperity. Already, notwithstanding our comparatively small purchases from her, Canada is the largest buyer in the world of our agricultural implements, and her imports of farm machinery from this country are annually increasing; she is the largest buyer in the world of our books and other publications; she takes of us about as many colored cottons as are bought by the United Kingdom, and comes, therefore, in importance in this trade close behind China and three or four tropical countries. She takes more uncolored cotton cloth than does the United Kingdom; she is a very large purchaser of our cord and twine, and of our manufactures of iron and steel. It is thoroughly well known that if we should enter into reciprocal tariff relations with her, Canada would depend upon the United States for most of her imports of manufactured articles. For several years, as is indicated by the statistics concerning immigration already given, the interests of individuals of the United States in Canada have been growing more intimate. This indication becomes certainty when we examine the interests held by citizens of this country in Canadian lands, in mines and in forests, and in Canadian industrial enterprises. A like story may be told of the interests of Canadians in the United States. On each side of the border, there is a strong feeling for closer commercial relations between the two countries, and this is as should be expected, for free trade between the two is as natural, and would be as beneficent, as is free trade between Ohio and Pennsylvania, or between New York and Louisiana or Texas. Mr. Chamberlain proposes to take advantage, for political purposes, of an artificial

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trade condition which we have built up, and this advantage is likely to be at the expense of the English consumer, and of the United States farmer and manufacturer. The power rests with us to protect the American farmer from artificial and injurious competition in England, to enlarge the market for American manufactures, and, at the same time, to promote those friendly international relations which make directly for the increase of civilization, and which would do more for the welfare of humanity than could possibly be accomplished by Mr. Chamberlain's proposed employment of a tariff war against the outside world for the purchase of fighting loyalty for the British Empire.

HENRY LOOMIS NELSON.

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# RESULTS OF THE GERMAN ELECTIONS.

BY WOLF VON SCHIERBRAND.

THE most pressing economical needs of Germany are new commercial treaties. In that respect the result of the German general elections, held on June 16th and 25th, has met the expectations of the Imperial government.

Bismarck's immediate successor, General Count von Caprivi, in consonance with the Kaiser's own ideas, broke with the outspokenly protective and agrarian tariff policy of the Empire, and in lieu thereof substituted the present system, which may roughly be described as a protective system tempered by reciprocal regard for the interests of those Powers with which the new chancellor concluded special commercial treaties. Since the treaties for which Caprivi was responsible went into effect, Germany has taken rank as a great commercial and exporting country. When that bluff soldier-chancellor went to the Kaiser with the news that the Reichstag had just ratified the series of ten-year commercial agreements with Russia, Austria, Italy, Roumania, Argentina, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and some other countries, that monarch was so impressed with the importance of this step that he embraced the gruff old general, conferred on him on the spot the highest Prussian decoration, the Black Eagle, created him a Count of the Empire, and said: "That is a real saving deed!" And subsequent events have borne him out. A few figures, taken from German official sources, tell the story best.

Between 1892 and 1900, Germany's exports rose from 3,150 million marks to 4,752 millions, and her imports from 4,227 millions to 6,043 millions. Trade with several of the treaty countries more than doubled, and the volume of trade increased remarkably with every one of them. At the same time, exports and imports to the other countries—including both those with

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which previous treaties had been made and those with which no specific agreement of any kind was in force—did not suffer; on the contrary, they, too, showed a rising tendency, especially in the case of England and the United States. It is safe to draw the conclusion, that the new tariff system was responsible for the rapid yet steady increase in the commercial and manufacturing prosperity of the young Empire.

Now, these ten-year treaties expire, nearly all of them, on December 31st, 1903. Not one has so far been renewed. The older treaty with England did expire some time ago, owing to Chamberlain's initiative, who in 1897 took the first tentative steps in that policy of inter-Imperial reciprocity which he has lately made the corner-stone of his personal ambition. He gave notice to Germany of the termination of the existing treaty, and no new one has taken the place of it, although, as a *modus vivendi,* the terms of the old one are still adhered to on both sides, with the notable exception that they do not apply to the trade between Germany and Canada. With the United States, the old treaty of 1828, originally made with Prussia and the Hanseatic Republics, is still in force.

For several years past, however, Germany has been, commercially speaking, in an unsettled condition. This has, in part, been owing to other causes, such as inflation and overspeculation; but it has also been largely due to the widespread doubt of the German commercial classes as to the Imperial government's ability to renew the commercial treaties on anything like as favorable terms and for as long a time as were provided by the old ones, and to the lack of confidence and security engendered thereby. For such doubts there seemed ample ground. The last Reichstag, elected for the period 1898-1903, fell during the last two years of its existence completely under the domination of Agrarian principles. It may be well to explain here that the Agrarian Party, so called, is really no political party in the ordinary sense, but rather is formed of the adherents of several factions in the Reichstag, the Prussian Diet and the legislative chambers of other German states; on other questions they differ widely, and they vote and act as a unit only on that one question of adequate protection to the agricultural products of the Empire. In the national parliament, the Reichstag, the followers of Agrarianism are made up of the members of the Conservative faction, of the Centre (or Ultramontane Catholic) party, and of the right wing



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of the National Liberals, and together they were a majority in that body. There is, however, a separate Agrarian organization within Germany, called the Husbandry Federation (or *Bund der Landwirthe*); this organization represented extreme Agrarian views, and in certain rural districts managed to elect to the Reichstag a few of its officers and spokesmen. Once in the Reichstag, this handful of ultra-Agrarians—Baron Wangenheim, Hahn, Rösicke, Oertel, Lucke—by the violence of their language, by their uncompromising attitude, by their unmeasured demands, and by their skilful tactics, contrived to attain a degree of importance far out of proportion to their actual strength. They made their allies, the Conservatives, Centrists and National Liberals, believe that they represented in their mode of thinking a much more considerable part of the rural electorate than was really the case, and they thus succeeded in imposing their will on the rest of the Agrarian army in the Reichstag, the "Moderates." They organized a system of terrorizing the great body of the last-named section, both in the Reichstag proper and in the Prussian Diet and outside of it. A subsidized press, laboring in the service of these ultra-Agrarians, was particularly active in inculcating their doctrine. Not alone that, however. These Agrarian fire-eaters, small in number though they really were, by their strategy also completely misled the Imperial government itself, including Count von Bülow, the Chancellor, giving him a wholly erroneous and exaggerated notion of their influence with the great body of rural voters. Under these conditions, the Imperial government, honestly believing that their excessive demands for protective duties on every kind of agricultural produce really represented the wishes of the great bulk of the soil-cultivating classes, framed a new tariff bill. This was high enough, imposing, for instance, duties on cereals of from thirty to fifty dollars a ton. But it was not high enough to suit these Agrarian "ultras." Under their fiery rhetoric, the Agrarian majority of the Reichstag greatly modified the original bill, increasing the rate of duties on foodstuffs, making them in part prohibitive, and rendering the provisions of the bill much more stringent. In that shape, the bill became a law not long ago.

The point of this new tariff law was largely and avowedly aimed at the United States, the intention being to greatly curtail or, if feasible, entirely do away with those American imports

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in cereals, meats, lards, bacon, ham, sausage, petroleum, etc., which together had for years reached the German market to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars, and which in large measure formed the staple nutriment of the laboring classes. However, before the law could go into effect, certain formalities had to be complied with; and so it happens that it has not yet been enforced.

And then came the election. These Reichstag elections in Germany occur but every five years, and one of the disadvantages of this system, as may be incidentally gathered from the conditions described above, is that the fluctuations in public opinion remain more or less a sealed book during this interval of a lustrum. The Socialists and the Liberals made "bread usury" their slogan. At the polls, the rural electors emphatically repudiated these ultra-Agrarian leaders, and this notwithstanding the fact that the latter had stood for those constituencies in the Empire which seemed the most likely to succumb to their reasoning, and which appeared the most completely under their sway. They were defeated outright, every one of them, and not a single extreme Agrarian leader will make his appearance in the new Reichstag. Thus an incubus has been removed from Germany which, for several years, had come near to strangling her young industries and involving her in a fierce and pitiless tariff war with all her neighbors and customers. The way is now clear for the government to pursue its original purpose without let or hindrance, to conclude new commercial treaties in lieu of expiring ones. The rule of the Agrarian majority is broken. The composition of the new Reichstag is as follows: Centre, 102; Socialists, 81; Conservatives, 52; Free Conservatives, 19; National Liberals, 51; Richter Radicals, 21; Barth Radicals, 9; South German Radicals, 6; Poles, 16; Alsatians, 9; Anti-Semites, 9; Husbandry Federation and Peasants' League, 7; Guelphs, 3; Danes, 1; Independents, 11.

The Agrarians in it are to be reckoned thus: Conservatives, 71; Right Wing of Centre, 62; Husbandry Federation and Peasants' League, 7; Anti-Semites, 9; Guelphs and Alsatians, 12; Poles, 16; Independents, 5; and scattering, 5—total, 187. Of these, however, a small number, probably about 15, may be won over by the government for commercial treaties.

The majority in favor of the government's commercial treaty

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policy consists of: Socialists, 81; National Liberals, 51; Radicals, 36; Left Wing of Centre, 40; and Independents and scattering, 2—total, 210.

There being in all 397 members in the Reichstag, the Pro-Treaty delegates have a narrow, but still working, majority of 23.

One feature deserves particular mention. The Socialist body of 81 (an increase of 25 over 1898) is the largest in the make-up of the Pro-Treaty party. Without them, the government could not carry this series of important measures which are to vouchsafe a recrudescence of Germany's young industrial prosperity. German politics present many curious features, but none so strange as this. For the Socialist party has been antagonized mercilessly by the Kaiser ever since his accession to the throne fifteen years ago, and he has repeatedly applied to its followers the strongest possible language. He called them once: "A horde of men unworthy to bear the name of Germans"; and in hundreds of his public utterances he has branded them the enemy of the Empire above all others. And now the irony of fate has decreed that the Socialists are to be the mainstay of the government, in that part of its policy which is to be of most far-reaching import.

This does not mean, however, that the Socialists in Germany have advanced to the dignity of a government party. It so happens that this commercial treaty part of the government programme meets the convictions and requirements of the Socialist masses, inasmuch as these treaties will furnish steady employment, at living wages, to the millions of industrial toilers, the latter being none other than the bulk of the Socialist party. In working for themselves, the Socialists incidentally and unavoidably work also for the German manufacturers and exporters, and at the same time for the nation at large, whose well-being is bound up in their own. It is not the first time that the Socialist programme has redounded to the best interests of the country and of the government, a government which spurns them. The situation was similar in 1891-94, when Count Caprivi inaugurated the commercial treaty policy and forced his measures through the Reichstag. He was able to do this only with the assistance of the Socialists, who numbered then about two score in that body, for the Conservatives and the other Agrarians opposed his policy most vigorously.

On most other measures which the German government will

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present to the Reichstag during the coming four years, such, for instance, as bills for the maintenance or enlargement of army and navy, and of the whole administrative apparatus, the Socialists will be in the opposition ranks, as they have been in the past. On that class of measures, in fact, and on nearly all which are meant to strengthen and perpetuate the present monarchic and class system in the Empire, the government will find its support in those who oppose its tariff policy—the Conservatives, Centre, etc.; and a sufficient number of the Liberals and Independents can always be won over on every bill of that character to pass it.

This is one of the anomalies of German internal politics. It is the system which Bismarck once described to the writer as involving constant annoyance and anxiety to him during his long régime. There is in the strict sense no such thing as parliamentary government in Germany. There is no hard-and-fast government majority, whence measures originate and which represent the dominant trend of public opinion. It is a constant "see-saw"—now one party forming the majority on a bill, now another; the government meanwhile remaining as immovable as the polar star, no matter what the national parliament does or refuses to do.

For the service the Socialists are going to perform for the Empire, they will, of course, receive no thanks from either Kaiser or cabinet; no more than they did ten years ago for a similar service. And yet the position of their party within Germany is a much more powerful one than it was then. Their strength at the polls has been doubled since 1893. They represent three million voters, or three-eighths of the total vote cast. They have captured every Reichstag constituency in Berlin and its suburbs, save one, and that one they missed very narrowly. Their candidates triumphed in the three districts of Hamburg, in the two each of Breslau, Dresden, Leipzig, Munich. They represent, wholly or in large part, nearly every other populous and industrial centre in the Empire, like Königsberg, Kiel, Dantzic, Stuttgart, Magdeburg, Mayence, Frankfort on the Main, Barmen, Chemnitz, Stettin, Erfurt, Nuremberg, Weimar, Bremen, Lübeck, Altona, etc. Every one of the 23 election districts of the Kingdom of Saxony elected a Socialist delegate. They have demonstrated surprising strength even in the very strongholds of Catholic clerical power and in the rural Agrarian districts.

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The Reichstag election districts were laid out thirty-one years ago, in conformity with the census of 1871. At that time, the rural population outnumbered the urban by sixty per cent. To-day, the urban population far outstrips the rural one. The cities have since grown enormously, while the country districts have either remained stationary or have actually lost in population. Berlin would now be entitled to eighteen seats in the Reichstag, instead of six, if redistricted according to the last official census of 1900, Hamburg and Leipzig to six and five, respectively, instead of three and two; and so on in proportion. It is precisely in these large industrial centres that the Socialists are strongest. Yet no redistricting has been ordered all this time, although the Socialist delegates have often taunted the government with the fact, and although the Radical and Liberal leaders, whose party representation likewise suffers in consequence, have formally demanded it as their right. Kaiser and government turn a deaf ear to this plaint. At any rate, by their vote of to-day, the Socialists would be entitled to about 160 seats out of the 397 in the Reichstag, instead of their 81. But, even under existing, very unfair, conditions, it was only by consolidating and voting jointly against the Socialist candidates, that the other parties in many districts snatched victory out of the jaws of defeat.

Nevertheless, as before hinted, the Socialists will remain emphatically a non-government party, and they will exert, during the Reichstag quinquennial period of 1903-08, no more influence over the internal or foreign relations of the Empire, than they have during the term just closed. This, it is not necessary to point out, is an unhealthy political condition. When the feelings and aspirations of almost one-half of the entire population are completely submerged and ignored, nay, directly and studiously antagonized, when their spokesmen, editors, and other representatives are sent to jail on every technical chance that presents itself, the political and social development of a nation cannot proceed normally.

Such, however, are the facts. We need not look, therefore, for any important alteration in Germany's foreign policy, and we may expect no modification in her internal policy except such as the exigencies in each individual case will render absolutely unavoidable. As a sop to the Socialists and to the whole laboring class the existing legislation on compulsory old age and injury insurance, invalid pensions, etc., will probably be enlarged. On

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the other hand, it may be expected that all the reactionary elements in the Empire, during the coming five years, will bend their efforts towards some legislation intended to take away the general franchise, the "secret, unrestricted and cowardly ballot," as a Conservative spokesman stigmatized that institution.

For the ensuing twelvemonth and more, however, it will tax the combined skill of Kaiser and Chancellor, Count von Bülow, to the utmost to effect new commercial treaties. That task will consume the larger part of the government's energies, and other issues, unless they be weighty and admit of no delay in their adjustment, will be shelved.

There are some persons who think it likely that the Kaiser, now that the nation over which he rules has itself answered his bitter invectives and his wholesale abuse of Socialists by depositing nearly a million more ballots in favor of the latter than was done five short years ago, will turn over a new leaf. He assuredly has done this on other matters and occasions. In fact, it would be hard to name an important foreign or domestic issue on which he has not changed his mind during his reign. He is, too, open-minded on many topics and does not hesitate to publicly proclaim modifications in his faith and views. But I deem it very improbable that Wilhelm II. will change his mind about the Socialists—as yet. There is too much venom in his soul against the Socialists, venom which has been gathering, drop by drop, since 1888. He is a good hater, this Kaiser, and a rather vain and, one might almost say, conceited person, and the Socialists have hurt his feelings too often to be so soon forgiven. Still, fate is stronger than he. Not long ago, while in Copenhagen, he conversed for an hour with the Socialist mayor of that town, whom he had met at that extraordinary little Danish court—a guest there like himself. Perhaps circumstances ere long will compel him to abandon his illogical attitude towards that party whose men shape, despite all he can do, the destinies of the nation in no small degree.

But be that as it may, to conclude and ratify commercial treaties is the most urgent matter for Kaiser and cabinet just now. Of most importance in the list of these prospective treaties are those with this country, with England, with Russia, and with Austria. In each instance, the case is somewhat complicated. The commercial treaty with the United States is the old one of 1828, which concedes to both parties the rights of most-favored nations.

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On both sides, though, complaint has been made that this provision has been violated again and again, not only temporarily but permanently—that is, on treaties or similar agreements concluded with other countries, or in the interpretation of tariff laws and regulations. There has been some cause given for this on either side. On the part of Germany, however, much dissatisfaction has been expressed at these conditions for years, and the wish has been insistently presented of concluding a new treaty with this country, one more in consonance with present-day requirements. The Washington government has given, years ago, adhesion in principle to this desire, and preliminary negotiations for a new treaty have been under way, both in Berlin and in Washington, for years. Owing to various causes, nothing tangible has come of this so far. One of the chief reasons which led to the appointment of so young a man as Baron Speck von Sternburg to the responsible post of German ambassador in Washington was his thorough familiarity with tariff relations existing between the two countries, and it is expected that an earnest mutual effort will now be made to conclude a new treaty between the United States and Germany. One of the main points Germany insists on is to obtain better terms for her big beet-sugar exports to this country than have been conceded to her hitherto. With the present temper of Congress, however, the work of framing a treaty which will be deemed acceptable to our interests will be an arduous one.

With England, the case is still more involved. She and her colonies have been all along Germany's most valued customer. For a number of years past, Anglo-German imports and exports have about balanced, with 200 million dollars each, to which figure trade with the British colonies has added another annual 50 or 60 million dollars. The treaty between the two countries, though, expired some time ago, notice of its termination being given at the instance of Mr. Chamberlain. No new treaty has taken its place, but the validity of the terms of the old one, saving in some particulars, is temporarily conceded on both sides from year to year, as a makeshift, of course. Meanwhile a German-Canadian tariff war broke out, owing to Canada's giving England a preferential tariff, discriminating in favor of the latter to the extent of 33 1-3 per cent., and against which Germany—under her construction of terms of the old treaty—first protested and

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then took retaliatory steps. Trouble of a similar kind seems to be brewing in both South Africa and New Zealand. Of late, Mr. Chamberlain's proposed radical changes in British tariff policy have further muddled the situation, so that it is difficult to predict anything as to the ultimate outcome of the Anglo-German negotiations for a new treaty. Probably, the present precarious conditions will continue until the tariff situation in England shall have cleared.

Germany's chances in the case of Russia are distinctly brighter. For Russia has notified her neighbor of a perfect willingness to renew the existing treaty on the present terms. Under them, however, Russia has sold Germany almost twice as much as she has bought — sending rye, oats and other cereals, hemp, flax, tar, cordage, petroleum and other rawstuffs, and cattle, horses, linseed-oil, timber, and taking German dyestuffs and chemicals, machinery, dry-goods, woollens and cloths, in exchange. In Russia the competition of American manufacturers is being greatly felt of late; and, on the other hand, the German agricultural producers deem present tariff terms with Russia too favorable to the latter. If Russia could get decided concessions on her petroleum in the German market, she would agree on her part to favor German manufacturers.

With Austria and Italy, though political allies, tariff conditions are not so favorable to German interests at present as they were a decade ago. In Austria, the manufacturers have suffered greatly from German imports, while the Hungarian cereal exports to Germany have shrunk, owing to American competition. In Italy, the recent political and tariff readjustment with France has made the former less dependent on exports to Germany. But, nevertheless, Germany's existing commercial treaties with these countries will probably be renewed, substantially on the old terms.

Then, there are treaties to be renewed with Holland—the best *per capita* consumer of her goods Germany has—Belgium, Switzerland, Roumania, Argentina, and some less important countries. The whole task thus devolving upon the statesmanship of Count von Bülow and his men is one demanding much tact and skill; and, until it is completed, it will be Germany's cue to foster as much as in her lies international peace and universal prosperity.

WOLF VON SCHIERBRAND.

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# AN OLD STORY.*

A ROUMANIAN FOLK SONG.

BY R. H. STODDARD.

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If I could only have known
I might not suffer so;
But I was only a woman,
And how was I to know?

It is woman's fate to love,
And where she loves to believe;
Till she learns too soon and too late,
How lightly men deceive.

I was young, young, and alone,
And fond and fair to see;
But I opened my heart to a man
Who shut his heart to me!

When that which is coming shall come,
At noonday, or midnight, or morn,
*He* will not be by my bedside,
Nor care when his child is born!

Should I say to the child—, "Thou art born!"
Before its small voice cried,
It would answer in pitiful looks,
"It were better I had died!"

* This poem was written by Mr. Stoddard at a date which cannot now be accurately determined. In October, 1897, Stoddard, whose health was then failing, dictated it to Mr. Henry Edward Rood, who at that time was associated with him in work of literary criticism, telling Mr. Rood to publish it or withhold it from publication, as he deemed best, after Stoddard's life was ended.

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Much better. So die, child, die!
  This world is no place for thee;
And since thou art mine, poor thing,
  No longer the place for me!

Show me the road to the churchyard,
  For surely the dead will be,
Once I am there, more kind
  Than the living are to me.

And whether I come alone,
  Or with a child at my breast,
They will let me lie among them,
  And share their lasting rest!

R. H. STODDARD.

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# ANGLO-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP.

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM H. CARTER, U.S.A.

AMONG many adventures which have fallen to the lot of the army since the declaration of war with Spain, none seems more strange than that American regiments were found lined up as allies with British regiments in far-away China. In an expedition composed of representatives of many nations, it was but natural that the English-speaking troops should fraternize; yet, judged by the occurrences of the century which followed the Declaration of Independence, it would not have been surprising if the reverse had been the case. Nevertheless, there was genuine satisfaction in this country in the knowledge that American and Briton stood, self-respectingly, shoulder to shoulder in that heterogeneous army.

"Blood is thicker than water" is a sentiment which has been so often repeated of late, that it may not be unprofitable to consider why it should have been necessary ever to invoke the aid of such a catch-phrase to awaken and cement the ties of friendship between Americans and Englishmen. Descended, as were most of the early colonists, from long lines of British ancestry, it is hardly possible that all ties of kinship would have been forgotten by the colonists by reason of any of the real or imaginary grievances which brought on the conflict for independence.

It is not intended to discuss the idiotic policy which forced the American colonies to annul their political allegiance to the Mother Country; but it may be worth while to point out some of the causes which led to an estrangement so bitter that, for nearly a century, the school histories intended for American children were considered as entirely justified in encouraging everlasting distrust and bitterness concerning Great Britain.

There was much to cause irritation and a sense of injustice in many of the laws of the Mother Country, as applied by officers

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and agents far from the source of power. American manhood, having resented attempted oppression by force of arms, and having won out in fair fight, would have extended the hand of honest friendship to England, if there had not been deep scars seared in the hearts of the colonists and unhealed wounds re-opened at every opportunity through a long course of years.

Intelligent Americans knew full well the hell which follows in the wake of war. Many of the colonists had served with British troops, and a conflict with these troops meant to the colonists only that honorable fight which might have been expected to be waged between men of the same blood. Had the war been fought out on fair lines, there would have been no more estrangement between Englishmen and Americans than exists to-day between men of the North and men of the South, who, for four long years, engaged in that battle royal which decided the fate of the Union.

Americans bore no special ill will to the Hessians; but the contempt which all freemen have for the hireling naturally manifested itself on occasions. For the ruler who sold their services, and for the British kindred who authorized and paid the hire of the mercenaries, there was engendered a scorn and hatred which children for half a century absorbed with their mother's milk.

Not satisfied with this act of folly, the evil counsellors of George III. continued to embitter the colonists through the infamous policy of using Indians to harass and murder those of their own English blood, scattered in the sparse settlements of the border land. Thus there was implanted in the breasts of Americans a feeling of deep resentment against the men from the Mother Country who did the bidding of their ill-advised rulers. Here and there, instances of British manhood cropped out to show that all sense of fairness had not departed from the gallant regiments which had been sent to crush the Revolution; but, what with prison ships, Hessians and Indians, the minds of the colonists were gradually closed to the belief that any generosity or consideration was obtainable, except at the point of the bayonet.

Common school histories of the events of an hundred years ago contain accounts of all the well-known actions of the period. An incident, not so commonly known, may be fairly cited to show the state of mind of the average British officer, and the contempt in which he held his American cousins. There was a gallant young gentleman from Prince George County, Maryland, Otho

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Holland Williams, by name, who, by virtue of his education and soldierly ability, so commended himself to his superiors that he was rapidly advanced to the grade of Major of Riflemen while yet a mere boy. He was wounded in the groin during the attack on Fort Washington, and was captured by Hessians. While in prison in New York, he was exchanged for a young officer of the British service, Major Ackland. The two gallant young officers became warm friends. On one occasion, after dining with the Acklands, Major Williams was invited by the host to accompany him to an assembly, the fashionable ball of the period. Major Williams was treated with such contemptuous scorn, that Major Ackland boldly said: "Come, Williams, this society is too ill-bred for you and me; let us go home."

After returning to England, Major Ackland attended a mess dinner at which the courage of Americans was questioned. Ackland defended Americans, and, in the heat of argument, gave the lie direct to Lieutenant Lloyd, who challenged him. In the duel which followed, Major Ackland was shot in the head and killed. Major Williams survived the war, and for many years filled high public office in Baltimore. This incident is related in an old work published in Philadelphia and London, the general character of which justifies the belief as to its accuracy.

Tarleton was a brave, young cavalry officer, of high spirit and great enterprise. His methods of waging war caused him to be feared and cordially hated by the colonists; yet he would have been singled out for promotion in any modern army because of his excellent service. Time has mellowed the asperities of feeling engendered by conflict, and Tarleton's delightful military memoirs have won for him many admirers amongst American officers of to-day. He waged real war with his troopers, and a right gallant enemy he proved.

Coming along down the years, British officials did little to ameliorate the bitter feeling which had been left along the trails of suffering during the Revolution; and, when the States could no longer tolerate the humiliation to which they were subjected, the War of 1812 was accepted as a last resort. It is not intended to go into the historical details of this epoch; for, even though the Secretary of War, John Armstrong, joined the army in person on the northern frontier, there were few features of the operations on land to which Americans can point with much soldierly pride.

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Some incidents of this struggle show that British sentiment had not changed in the lapse of the thirty-odd years which followed the Revolution. Before news of the declaration of war could reach Fort Michilimackinac, the small American garrison, consisting of fifty-seven officers and men, was surrounded by a British force of one thousand and twenty-one, more than seven hundred of whom were Indians. The garrison was coolly informed that, if a single gun was fired in honorable defence, all would be massacred by the savages, and in his report the commander of the British forces said: "It was a fortunate circumstance the fort capitulated without firing a single gun, for, had they done so, I firmly believe not a soul would have been saved."

When the tide of war on the northern frontier had changed in our favor, no less a personage than General William H. Harrison addressed a letter, under date of November 3rd, 1813, to Major-General Vincent of the British Army, commenting upon General Proctor's conduct in sending a young subaltern, under flag of truce, to ask humane treatment for prisoners and the restoration of private property and papers, after having subjected his American prisoners to "all the indignities and deprivations which human nature is capable of supporting." After reciting numerous instances of barbarity, perpetrated by parties coming directly from the British camps and returning to them with plunder and such prisoners as were not murdered, General Harrison says:

"To retaliate, then, upon the subjects of the King would have been justifiable by the laws of war and the usages of the most civilized nations. To do so has been amply in my power, nor have instruments of vengeance been wanting. . . . You are a soldier, sir, and, as I sincerely believe, possess all the honorable sentiments which ought always to be found in men who follow the profession of arms. Use, then, I pray you, your authority and influence to stop that dreadful effusion of innocent blood which proceeds from the employment of those savage monsters, whose aid (as must now be discovered) is so little to be depended upon when it is most wanted, and which can have so trifling an effect upon the issue of the war. The effect of their barbarities will not be confined to the present generation. Ages yet to come will feel the deep-rooted hatred and enmity which they must produce between the two nations."

This excerpt is but a fragment of the long communication from this distinguished soldier and citizen.

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In conveying, by flag of truce, his courteous acknowledgment, General Vincent said:

"Believe me, sir, I deprecate, as strongly as yourself, the perpetration of acts of cruelty committed under any pretext; and shall lament equally with yourself that any state of things should produce them. No efforts of mine will be ever wanting to diminish the evils of a state of warfare, as far as may be consistent with the duties which are due to my King and country."

But, nevertheless, the savages were continued in service under the British flag.

A British proclamation, under date of August 22nd, 1814, contains this language:

"Natives of Louisiana! On you the first call is made to assist in liberating, from a faithless, imbecile government, your paternal soil; Spaniards, Frenchmen, Italians and British, whether settled, or residing for a time in Louisiana, on you also, I call to aid me in this just cause; the American usurpation in this country must be abolished and the lawful owners put in possession. I am at the head of a large body of Indians, well armed, disciplined and commanded by British officers: . . . rest assured that these brave red men only burn with ardent desire for satisfaction for the wrongs they have suffered from the Americans."

There was not much of martial success to comfort the Americans during most of the period covered by the war of 1812-15, but the result of Pakenham's defeat at New Orleans, after the war had been officially closed, took away some of the sore feeling left by a succession of military blunders. Matters drifted along, but with a feeling amongst Americans always that they could expect neither friendship nor justice from British officials. Several years after the close of the war of 1812-15, the depredations of the Seminole Indians of Florida became so annoying that General Jackson invaded that country, which belonged to Spain, and having captured two British subjects, Arbuthnot and Ambrister, he caused them to be tried by court-martial for inciting Indians to murder American settlers. Arbuthnot was hung and Ambrister shot. The adjustment of the Nova Scotia boundary was prolific of crimination and recrimination as far back as 1838, when Great Britain organized a considerable force of Canadian militia and quietly increased the garrison of British regulars in Canada to about 20,000 men before communicating to the American govern-

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ment the result of a new boundary survey by British commissioners. The northwestern boundary dispute ended in a way which left a sting of bitterness, for "54-40 or fight" had become a slogan of no mean proportions.

The course of trade flowed steadily on during the first half of the century, and the development by Americans of a merchant-marine of first-class proportions naturally made many British ship-owners and public men encourage secession in 1861. Notwithstanding the constant appeals of John Bright and many true-hearted Englishmen, the dullest of Americans soon learned that the weight of British influence was thrown into the balance against the Union. So bitter was the prevailing opinion on this subject, that all that prevented war was the knowledge of President Lincoln and his advisers that to crush secession was a big enough undertaking for one generation.

The adjustment of the Alabama claims smoothed the way somewhat, but did not wholly remove suspicion. The long series of fishery troubles, followed by the slaughter of seals off the Alaska coast, the constant strengthening of the naval base at Esquimault, and the encroachments of the Canadian mounted police along the American boundary as soon as the gold fields in Alaska became valuable, led many intelligent Americans to consider whether arbitration was not reaching the limit of indulgence. A feeling of resentment ran very high amongst Americans in Alaska, and many improbable and absurd stories found ready believers bent on resisting the Canadian authorities. The war with Spain came to occupy public attention and turned away the threatening clouds.

The course of England generally in our war with Spain, the conduct of the British naval contingent at Manila, and the cordial treatment of Americans by Englishmen in all parts of the world have at last turned the tide; and now an international friendship backed by the intelligence and best blood of both nations bids fair to start down the new century in earnest approval of the sentiment that "Blood is thicker than water." God speed the movement which tends to dispel forever the misunderstandings and bitterness of the olden days—misunderstandings and bitterness which should never have continued between nations of the same blood, the same language and the same aspirations for the highest form of liberty.

WILLIAM H. CARTER.



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# AGGRESSIVE FOREST RESERVATION.

BY JAMES P. KIMBALL.

INCIDENTALLY to the remarkable progress of the cult for the protection of forests, which, as said by Mr. Henry Gannett, has come to be "almost a religion," there has strongly developed at Washington a cult which has for its object progressive sequestration from the public domain of expansive areas, sometimes in units of thousands of square miles, as forest reserves, by the sole authority of the President, under the acts of March 3rd, 1891, and June 4th, 1897. Forest reservation under these acts presents two sides, an obverse and reverse. Only the side represented by the statutes is at all recognized in the East. Apart from their delegation of power to the President, these are vague, specious, general, and mainly declaratory of intent and purpose. The opposite side, represented by administrative rule, from which qualification of law has been omitted, is the side manifested to the West. It is the object of the present writing to indicate briefly the difference between the two sides of forest reservation; the one, altruistic in theory, the other aggressive in practice.

However well-meaning or influential may be most of those who adhere to the principle of forest protection, there are few who are able or sufficiently interested to keep constantly informed of the acts of forest reserve aggrandizement, whether proposed or effected. While the cult holds undisputed sway at Washington, all the material interests affected are local to the Western States, and the alarm which is felt in these States at the enormous occlusion of forest reserves within the public domain finds popular expression nowhere near the seat of the individual power by which these reserves are created. That is feelingly voiced only in the localities affected by them, by a majority or minority of the residents as the case may be—that is, by the persons immediately con-

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cerned. The sense of injury felt by such persons often transcends the complacency of those who, in the successful pursuit of the cult, take no thought of local interests which must suffer from the inordinate application of its principles, though exploiting to the utmost all local interests of a different character.

Upon the proclamation of a forest reserve, which cancels all rights of further entry thereupon under the general land laws, land-holders and mine-owners who reside in the reserved region suddenly find themselves in a new and unexpected environment. They are bound hand and foot to strange general rules and special orders, under formal authority of the Secretary of the Interior, but administered primarily by bureau and division officers of the Department of the Interior, through local supervisory officers of several grades, some of whom may be non-resident. No longer a free agent, as an American citizen should be, the settler is called upon to submit his avocation and daily acts to the control of personal authority, exercised without form or force of law. To stand up against this, implies conflict with United States authority, which, though unsupported by specific laws, is not wanting in means for annoyance, sometimes equally effective as an instrument for coercion. In a contest with authority, the settler's only recourse is to a United States District Court, and in most of the Western States such recourse can be had only at a single point, often remote from the settler's residence.

While the dweller within a forest reserve is not absolved from his duties as a citizen of the State in which the reserve is situated, he practically ceases to enjoy benefit from public or county improvements. In the ratio of the depopulation of reserves which, sooner or later, generally follows their creation, county taxes are necessarily increased.

For all vested rights which have been acquired by the settler under the general land laws, payment has been fully made, including the cumulative price of his labor. Security in the enjoyment of these rights is among the prerogatives of the American citizen. Yet, when his property comes to be encompassed by a forest reserve, all that is conceded to him under forest reserve rule is permissive privileges at the will of a Department at Washington. According to the text of the statute, "Settlers are *permitted* to utilize their property under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior."

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True, the settler may surrender possession, including all increment of value in buildings, irrigation, fences, or other improvements, in exchange for "lieu selections" of unimproved vacant lands in still unreserved parts of the public domain, wherein desirable selections have come to be few and far between. Whatever the increment, the rate of value per acre of lieu selections can rarely exceed the current negotiable value of Land Office scrip. Accretion to local possessions is no longer practicable. One of the greatest incentives to exertion is, therefore, hopelessly removed. Thousands of worthy settlers within the borders of territory summarily set aside for forest reserves at a stroke of the pen, have elected to abandon an environment which has suddenly become intolerable, and to surrender homes, however well established or even cherished they may have become.

Grazing of sheep is prohibited in most of the reserves. For want of upland pasturage and water for their flocks in dry seasons, resident and near-by wool-growers are suddenly confronted with complete subversion of their occupation. Grazing rights that are preserved to other stockmen are restricted within designated limits for a given number of live stock, which must be counted in and out of reserves on given dates. Timber may be cut for construction or for fuel only by measure, also within prescribed limits. Notwithstanding the precedence over forestry purposes clearly given by the statute to his industry, the mine-owner is cut off from necessary uses for timber, except in small doles, adequate only to purposes of the prospector. Further supplies are far from being assured, even after much circumlocution and suspense in the process of application for them. Timber privileges, which are granted within limits to individuals without cost, are explicitly denied to corporations, legally paradoxical as this may be. In the Cascade Forest Reserve of Oregon, where timber is redundant, important mines and mills have been closed down during the past winter for want of fuel for steam, on the dictum that timber cut on one mineral location cannot be used on another of a group of locations under one and the same ownership. Strict compliance, clinched by signed promises to comply, with all rules and regulations, is made a condition to the granting of a privilege under any one of them.

As a mode of coercion practised by local forest reserve officials where United States courts have not been found on the side of

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Department exactions, probably none has proved more effective than successful intimidation of the employed when the attempt at intimidation has been unsuccessful with the employer. Woodcutters or herders, threatened with arrest (their principals, perhaps, having vainly sought arrest in order to initiate legal tests), are not unlikely to take alarm, even in the absence of power to make arrests, and desert their jobs.

The initiatory act in the creation of forest reserves and of additions thereto rests with the President. All further initiative falls to the Secretary of the Interior. For withdrawals by the President, as provided by the statute, are only on recommendation by the Secretary of the Interior. Appeals to the President, through the Department of the Interior, for withdrawals, reach the President only in case of affirmative action. Direct appeals to the President are accordingly referred—presumably unread—to the Department. Negative action on the part of the Department is practically final.

What, presumptively, are the influences brought to bear upon the Executive, tending to the creation of forest reserves? In view of their enormous encroachment upon the resources of at least eleven Western States during the last decade, that is a pertinent question. Before suggesting an answer, it will be proper to note that existing reserves differ widely among themselves, from the luxuriant and redundant forests of the humid belt, as in Washington and Oregon, to the scant and scattered growths of the arid belts on the lower slopes of the Rocky Mountains. Most of them are essentially mountain areas, including culminations of ranges often far above the timber-line.

It will also be well to note the recent advancement of the cult of forest protection as perhaps most strikingly shown by the notable increase of schools of forestry, professorships of forestry in colleges and universities throughout the United States, and also by the number of periodicals devoted to forestry. In a more special way, the growth of the forest reserve cult, tending to aggrandizement of forest reserves, is evidenced by the number of divisions of the administrative departments of the Federal government devoted either to forest protection or to forest reserves. The most active division of the kind is within the organization of the United States Geological Survey, whose three quarto annual volumes, already issued, attest the scientific importance given to

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forest reserves by the Interior Department. Another forestry division of the same Department is that of the General Land Office. A third forestry division is within the organization of the Department of Agriculture. The functions of this division are non-administrative, but like most of the divisions in that Department advisory and for the spread of special knowledge. Each division named is at present in charge of a specialist of well-known attainments. All division chiefs act in harmony, at least to the end of forest reserve aggrandizement.

Returning to the question above proposed, it may be remarked that, as the forest reserve is commonly assumed to oppose at present the one more or less effective measure against grazing of sheep on the open ranges, growers of cattle, when at a comfortable distance from reserves, themselves enjoying immunity from grazing prohibitions, as well as benefits from prohibitions against a collateral industry, are found almost to a man on the side of forest reservation. Behind its propagandism thus stands an alert and influential solidarity, which, while seeking its own ends alone, gives local support to efforts primarily extraneous centering first and last at Washington.

Expressions in favor of forest reserve extension may, from some special personal motive, occasionally be heard from resident flock-masters, especially from such as have been crowded by nomadic flocks or by other unscrupulous herding. Even from mines outside the borders of reserves may come appeals for protection from "timber sharks," such as forest reserves unquestionably can give. Such a precedent is apt to be cited by zealous officials in proof of the general acceptability of forest reserves as a public boon, and in refutation of special pleas for withdrawals.

Changes in boundaries of forest reserves from time to time have generally resulted in net increase. No withdrawals have been reported, except to enable a certain county of Washington to resume business, two-thirds of whose area had been turned into a reserve. Withdrawals have been vainly sought by many, under terms of the statute, for the sake of release from the dictation and domination of forest reserve officials, in favor of territory immediately or closely within reservation boundaries and shown to be more valuable for agricultural or mining purposes than for forestry uses. But few if any applications of the kind have ever passed the Department of the Interior.

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The area of forest reserves, thirty-five in number, on March the 1st, 1900, as officially stated, was 71,697 square miles, distributed in eleven States west of the 103rd meridian. With the additions of 1902 by President Roosevelt in Wyoming and Montana, the area foots up at present to over 80,000 square miles, an area equal to the combined areas of the New England States together with the area of Maryland.

With the forest reserves of 1891 and 1897, 3,332 square miles in area, the additions of 1902 by President Roosevelt enclose the Yellowstone National Park on all but the western side, constituting an expanse of over 9,000 square miles in Wyoming and some 2,200 in Montana. On the 29th of January, 1903, the President, not yet satisfied with his startling additions of nearly 8,000 square miles to the Yellowstone reserves, was further induced to sign a third proclamation, within eight months, merging the Teton, Absaroka and Yellowstone forest reserves with additional territory of several hundred square miles yet uncomputed, all to be known as the Yellowstone Forest Reserve.

This united area comprises several divisions of the Rocky Mountains, culminating in fields of perpetual snow and glaciers, unfailing sources of powerful streams, which furnish copious irrigation to the Big Horn and Yellowstone basins. From their first settlement these basins, including large expanses of bad lands, fit for nothing else, have been given over to stock-growing, and, incidentally, to wool-growing, the two branches of industry, as divided between cattle and sheep with the wool clip, being of about equal relative importance. Distribution of forests, or rather of more or less timbered areas over such an expanse, is of course most unequal. The resources of both basins in no small part have come from the privilege of grazing stock over vacant surfaces of the public domain, including upland plateaus and untimbered bottoms, in periods of drought. Under forest reserve dispensation, it is now undertaken to curtail this privilege for cattle and horses, and to withdraw it wholly from sheep.

Under the general land laws, it is true, land-holders acquire no extra lateral rights as against the United States. But what are the equities from environment in favor of the settler in the arid belts, where agriculture as an end rather than as a means offers but a precarious and inadequate substitute for stock-raising? To this industry, along with the mining industry, both

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so vital to the existing prosperity of the United States, the eastern arid belt owes its wonderful social and material development. While accretions and combinations of capital have resulted in a few acquisitions of areas sufficient to support large herds and flocks within legal fences, the sum of prosperity in stock raising, the initial industry to so many other industries, is to the credit of comparatively small land-holders, who have won titles to home ranches, but whose main dependence is upon surrounding open ranges which otherwise would go to waste, and of which the major part is unfit for improvement or other occupation or uses. Under other conditions, the Great American Desert could never have been reclaimed or mapped into proud commonwealths, the homes of a people second to none in public spirit, thrift and intelligence. No homesteader or settler upon a desert claim can do more by irrigation than provide for winter forage and garden supplies. Access to the open ranges has hitherto proved the great and practically the only incentive to settlement of the great West, and must be recognized as still the basis of its prosperity, in relation to which mining developments, extensive as they are, are clearly of subsidiary importance. Ranges at elevations too high for entry or improvement, but perennially renewed under unfailing precipitation, are not the least part of the vanishing resources still remaining to the stock-grower. Upwards of a thousand square miles of grazing upland, destitute of forest in any measured sense of the term, and mostly above the timber-line, and partly on the outer border, like the Bear-tooth Plateau, have been taken into new reserves now united. Parts of this contiguous territory have been the last resort of stock in times of drought, such as has prevailed during the last few seasons. Neither water supply nor reforestation here comes into question, nor are forestry purposes of importance subserved, except in control of grazing limits and in policing against fires. Whether game protection may be fostered to a small or large degree by thus surrounding the National Park with a rugged margin of over eleven thousand square miles, culminating in an inaccessible mountain barrier, it should be remembered that game protection is no administrative concern of the federal government, beyond the preservation of certain wild animals in the National Park to which the federal government has acquired title by purchase. Even within the National Park, so effectively policed by the United States army, infractions of

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game laws are punishable only by the State. That protection of game, however, with other purposes more remote from forestry purposes, has been of moment in considerations at Washington, leading to recent proclamations of reserves, is well known.

That the federal government is actually preparing for the enterprise of game protection on its own account is shown by Senate bill number 6689, favorably reported February 28th, 1903, by the House Committee on Public Lands, authorizing the President to designate areas in the public forest reserves to be set aside for this specific purpose. Views of the minority of the Committee, as expressed by Mr. Mondell, take strong grounds against the measure, than which, says the member from Wyoming, "it would be difficult to conceive of a measure which more contemptuously ignores and insolently disregards the rights and wishes of the people of the States in which the preserves provided for are to be located."

On the same date a favorable report on Senate bill number 7123 was also authorized by the same Committee, giving persons employed on forest reserves, as well as in national parks, power beyond that of United States marshals to make arrests without warrant.

While undoubtedly providing additional means for annoyance and intimidation, such arbitrary power, if ever conferred, can scarcely be legally employed, except at the instance of the Department of Justice in process of criminal prosecution of the kind which several United States courts have refused, on constitutional grounds, to sustain.

In an interview upon the present subject recently given out by the late Governor Richards of Wyoming, it is remarked that:

> "The policy now being pursued by President Roosevelt is causing the withdrawal from entry of much of our best lands. It is restricting possibilities of immigration and, if continued, will keep Wyoming and other States similarly situated in the class of arid States. We wish to depart from the class and make Wyoming one of the foremost in agriculture through the operation of the irrigation laws, as it is possible to do. We want to raise agricultural products, not wolves, bear and other game for the purpose of making Wyoming a game preserve for Eastern sportsmen."

Against the same policy and the recent additions to the forest reserves in the State of Wyoming, the present Governor, soon

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after assuming office, addressed a formal protest to the Secretary of the Interior in similar spirit.

The plenary power delegated to the President by the act of March 3rd, 1891, for the creation of forest reserves, was restricted by the act of June 4th, 1897, to the "purpose or intent" of provisions for improving and protecting the forest within a reservation, "or for the purpose of securing favorable conditions of water-flows," or for furnishing "a continuous supply of timber for the use and necessities of citizens of the United States," from which purpose or intent was disavowed "inclusion therein of lands more valuable for the mineral therein or for agricultural purposes than for forestry purposes."

Notwithstanding the restrictions like the above, the power of the President has been successfully invoked for vast extensions of forest reserves, already expansive enough for all prescribed forestry purposes. By repeated exercise of this power, supplemented by Departmental authority, domination of the cattle interest over the wool-growing interest was practically secured in a wide section, with the open design, on the part of those most active in invoking such power, of summarily, not impartially, deciding, as far as could be decided, the irrepressible conflict between the two interests. Not only was the enormous reduction of grazing limits in Montana and Wyoming urged upon the President by cattle-growers as a measure for banishment of sheep, but two cattle-growers were appointed to supervise the new reserves.

To what length conflict over distinctive uses of the public ranges may be carried, is witnessed by such lawless deeds as one reported from Thermopolis as late as February 3rd last, when a prominent flock-master was fatally shot through the lungs by a band of masked cattle-men, his camp burned, and two hundred of his flock clubbed to death, the rest being stampeded.

That prohibition of sheep-grazing in the Yellowstone Forest Reserve, imposed on non-residents and immediate and near-by residents alike, was not without excess of zeal in behalf of local cattle-growers, now appears from the fact that, at a mass meeting at Cody on January 31st last, the federal government was petitioned, without dissent, by over a hundred merchants and representative stock-growers, mostly cattle-men, of Big Horn county, to rescind prohibition orders so as to exclude from grazing privileges none but nomadic flocks. It is scarcely to be supposed that

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this convention was attended by the masked riders who in another part of the county, three days later, expressed in their own way their view of the equities of the conflict.

By an almost unanimous vote, the National Live Stock Association, in convention at Kansas City, adopted resolutions on January 16th last requesting Congress to authorize the President to appoint a commission to determine the respective rights of resident cattle-men and sheep-men on the public ranges, and to devise the best means to settle amicably the range war. Resolutions were also adopted asking for rescindment of the exclusion order, the transfer of administration of forest reserves to the Department of Agriculture, and protesting against the setting aside of vast tracts for game preserves in the name of forest reserves.

In the year 1901, permits were issued for grazing 1,180,318 sheep in eight of the forest reserves, or 84 per cent. of the limited number. The number grazing without permits is not reported. To settlers living within and immediately adjacent to thirty-three reserves, permits were issued for grazing 277,048 cattle and horses, each horse counting as two head of cattle, or 64 per cent. of the limited number.

So far at least under previous administrations appears to have been borne out the statement of a chief of one of the forestry divisions of the Interior Department, that "the main purpose of the reserves is not exclusion, as is still so often claimed," but that "they merely provide the means and men to give the much-needed care and protection which private enterprise at present could not afford, and probably would be unwilling to furnish for a long time to come." To such profession, *prima facie,* there can be no demur.

That fires are purposely set to the woods by herders of sheep, as is so often charged, is denied by the same authority, who says:

"To charge the sheep-men with the many burns seems hardly fair, since ungrazed portions of a reserve are not without as many burns as the regular ranges. While carelessness in the management of camp-fires, etc., is possible with sheep-herders, as with other persons, it must be granted that their experience, together with their material interests, would naturally check and correct such deficiencies. In addition, it seems proper to state that the experience with fires in the Big Horn Reserve during the summer of 1900 clearly proves that, with a cordial co-operation of sheep-men and rangers, the former furnish a very desirable body to draw from in case of emergencies. Where it requires

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from two to four days to fetch men from beyond the limits of the reserve, such assistance from sheep-men may be of the greatest importance. In denying the charges of firing the woods, the sheep-men correctly point out that the closely-fed park lands are less liable to be fired, and that in many cases fires have actually come to an end when reaching closely cropped sheep ranges."

The timbered area of Wyoming is officially estimated at 12,500 square miles, or thirteen per cent. of the area of the State; yet over eleven per cent. of the area of the State is occupied by forest reserves, and over three per cent. by the Yellowstone National Park. Hence it appears that of unwooded area in national reservations, there is included two per cent. of the State area, plus the percentage of the wooded area of the State still left outside of reservations.

As publicly stated by the supervisor of the Yellowstone Forest Reserve, one mountain trail in Wyoming (Boulder Basin) has recently been destroyed by dynamite, in order to facilitate control and surveillance over the passes within the united reserves. That the same will probably be done to the Deer Creek Trail was also announced. Guaranteed as the public is by statute in the right of entering upon forest reservations "for all proper and lawful purposes, including that of prospecting, locating and developing the mineral resources thereof," such indignities upon the public are to be condemned and resented.

The rules and regulations governing forest reserves can not here be discussed. As conceded by the Attorney-General, with reference to them, "Congress can not delegate its legislative power so as to authorize an administrative officer, by the adoption of regulations, to create an offence and prescribe its punishment."

In cases involving criminal prosecution for violation of grazing prohibitions and of timber-cutting restrictions, and of prohibitions not imposed by the general land laws, a demurrer to the criminal information filed by defendants has commonly been sustained in the United States courts, where the plea of "guilty" was not entered—at least in California, Montana, Utah and Washington. How far such an adverse record on constitutional grounds may serve to restrain the Departments concerned from criminal prosecutions under the statutes remains yet to be seen. That prosecutions have ceased in States where judicial decisions have reversed the claims of the Departments is well known.

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From a recent decision in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, in California, successful restraint of sheep-grazing seems to open up a prospect of governing forest-reserves by injunction.

Where exactions of forest reserve rule on matters of importance become intolerable, test cases in the United States courts offer the most promising relief, especially in view of numerous decisions against them. But even such recourse fails where the government of forest reserves or the Department of Justice refuses to join issue by process of law.

To citizens persisting in the enjoyment of rights long exercised under the general land laws, but denied within forest reserves by discretionary rules, both administered by the General Land Office, or else granted at the cost of much circumlocution, suspense and delay, no little trouble and annoyance, in localities remote from United States courts, may be caused by United States district attorneys who are not unable to employ official process to that purpose with or without support of law, though scarcely without instigation by superior authority at Washington.

For this reason, if for no other less personal motive, most persons having relations with forest reserves are naturally anxious for further specific legislation supplementary to the statute. For it is a general belief on the Pacific coast, as in the Rocky Mountain region, that the declaratory clause of the statute, without which it could scarcely have been enacted, is rendered nugatory by Departmental practice. This may be affirmed from common experience in both regions of the country where agricultural and mining interests, to which the declaration gives precedence over forestry purposes, have been subordinated by administrative officers to forestry purposes, and so continue to be, in spite of appeals through the Department of the Interior for remedial measures at the hands of the President, as provided by the statute.

That opinions and recommendations are apt to be conceived and prepared in a technical spirit conformably to the more scientific purposes and doctrinal theories of forest reservation, is not improbably in accord with the zeal expected from all bureau officers. Of such spirit no criticism is here intended, however difficult it may be for extraneous and material interests to stand up outside the pale of authority against it.

No preventive mechanism of law has yet been devised to deal with abuse of the wild ranges of the West. From reasonable use

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they suffer notably less than from disuse. Even from bunched or herded stock no serious abuse would follow, if resident growers were alone the occupants. No one is so conscious as themselves of the improvidence of close cropping, especially of arid, champaign and bad-land areas, which are the first to suffer from incursions of nomadic stock, often from beyond State borders. Upland ranges bearing only coarse grasses, low in forage value, are no more the choice of one class of growers than another, though all classes sometimes are compelled to make the best of them, when suffering from drought or from unscrupulous herding over better parts of the public ranges.

Desirable as it is to discover a legal preventive for abuse of the public ranges, if practicable under State laws, let it be sought by direct means in specific legislation, not by indirect or disingenuous methods, exploited from the license and crudities of undeveloped statutes like those thus far designed for the government of Forest Reserves. In common with other citizens of the United States, dwellers within forest reserves and upon their borders demand government not by men but by laws, and also, as far as may be, by home rule.

To the accepted theories of forest protection and the avowed purposes of forest reservation, no popular objection is seriously opposed.

Until reserve laws be wrought into specific provisions, it is urged that unforested grazing territory on the outer margins of reserves, as well as certain mining territory, be restored to the unreserved public domain. For such restoration existing statutes amply provide. Restoration of interior tracts is commonly regarded as out of the question.

The general public of the Western States, as voiced by the press, further asks that protection of game shall not weigh at Washington in the creation of forest reserves, but be left practically, as it is formally, to the States; also, that no forest reserves be created or maintained, except within the limitations of the declaration of the statute, and with due regard to all as well as single local industrial interests of importance, impartially and relatively considered.

JAMES P. KIMBALL.

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# RUSSIA'S FLEET.

BY ARCHIBALD S. HURD.

It is common knowledge that Russia's fleet of late years has been greatly strengthened; but it is doubtful if the full significance of the developments of the last twenty years, and especially the past five years, has been fully understood even in England and America. Japan has had her eyes open to the trend of events, and step by step she has endeavored to checkmate the Muscovite Power. Only this spring, on the announcement of a new Russian ship-building programme, all parties in Japan buried their differences and agreed to the expenditure of £11,500,000 on new ships of war! It looks as though the future would witness a duel between Russia and Japan for the supremacy of the Far Eastern Seas; but if the issue can be decided without recourse to force, by the gentle and insidious arts of diplomacy, Russia will not fight, because fighting is expensive and she needs all her resources for developing her vast Eastern and Western Empires. But Russian policy has dictated the provision of the wherewithal to fight if the wiles of peaceful negotiation fail to accomplish her ends.

In the world to-day, there is no more remarkable and significant movement than the haste which is being shown in strengthening the naval forces of the Tzar. Born in England, cradled by English hands, that fleet has lately received accessions from some of the chief shipyards of the world, so greatly have Russia's political dreams outrun the industrial means by which to give them substance. For five years past, the United States, England, France, and Germany have been busy building ships, which, in consequence of her haste for power, the resources of Russian ship-building establishments could not construct. Such world-wide activity at the bidding of one single ambitious government,

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which knows what it wants and the instruments which it needs to accomplish its purpose, is unparalleled. With daring audacity, which has passed almost without comment, she has called upon the friends of the "open door" in the Far East to help forge the weapons, which she, the opponent of the "open door," will use against them if they hinder her. By every means in her control, Russia has built up and is building up a great fleet, and the striking fact in this expansion is that her navy is not concentrated, as ten years ago was the case, in the Baltic and the Black Sea, but is massed largely at the new sea outlets of the huge dominions of the Tzar, Port Arthur and Vladivostock.

It was regarded as a truism some years ago that Russia needed no navy, and could not afford one if she did, owing to the immense capital expenditure which was necessary for the development of her territories. She had a small navy, but Europe, remembering its genesis, refused to regard it seriously. It was remembered that Peter the Great had visited England and watched the ship-building in progress at Deptford, had gained an insight into the methods of the craft, and had taken back with him to his dominions a small army of artisans and sailors to lay the foundations of a fleet, intended as a protection, not against either of the Great Powers, but against Sweden. Much has happened since then; but this is the story of the birth of the navy of a country which is impregnable against attack by sea, and, if we may judge from Napoleon's experience, not easily touched vitally by land. Ashore and afloat, Russia has had a general and an admiral who has never been really defeated, General Winter and Admiral Winter, one and the same. Her coast-line is icebound throughout most of the months of the year; and, apart from the danger from Sweden, her near neighbor, Peter the Great feared no foe at sea. But this neighbor needed to have the fear of the Muscovite put into his heart; and so the Russian fleet, under the fostering care of English shipwrights and sailors, came into being. It was a defensive force, and, throughout most of the year, it was frozen into the Baltic, inert and useless.

Subsequently there came a new development. By the Treaty of Kainardji in 1774, the Russians obtained the right to trade in the Black Sea, and in this instance the flag followed the trade; and gradually Russia created a Euxine force to defend her commercial and territorial interests. When the Crimean War closed

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and the Treaty of Paris specified that the Euxine should be open to the trade of all the world, but shut to ships of war, it looked as though Russia's dreams of ascendency in these waters had been buried. But Russia was merely biding her time; and, in 1870, when there was no one at liberty specially concerned to say her nay, she brushed aside this provision. The world's diplomatists met in London and decided that the neutralization of the sea should be abrogated; but, in order to leave Turkey and Russia in its sole enjoyment with as little danger to the general peace as possible, it was agreed that the Dardanelles and Bosphorus should be closed to ships of war, thus completely isolating the fleets of the two Powers in these waters. In this manner Russia has become mistress of the Black Sea, and it is but a few months since she felt the pulse of Europe by sending on two occasions torpedo-boats through the Dardanelles. In resorting to this action, Russia bore in mind Lord Salisbury's admission that, at the time of the Crimean War, England "put her money on the wrong horse." The Tzar's advisers know full well that, when the fitting time comes, the ships in the Black Sea will pass through the Dardanelles into the Mediterranean with absolute freedom. In the Black Sea she has accomplished her purpose and knows it and is content, and Europe knows that she has achieved her object and that, when she cares to tear up the last fragment of the Treaty of Paris, no one will do more than protest. She will choose an opportunity when rivals are too busy to interfere.

Throughout these many years of growing power in the Baltic and the Black Sea, the Russian navy continued to attract large numbers of English officers, and the fame of Admirals Elphinstone and Greig in particular will not soon be forgotten. But the feature of the Russian fleet since the introduction of steam and steel was, that the ships were largely of the coast-defence type, that they were unfitted for action far from a base. They were designed to operate in the Baltic and the Black Sea, to give protection against the Northern Powers of Europe and to overawe Turkey, but not a ship bearing the Russian ensign cruised in far-off waters where the Union Jack and the Tricolor, to a less extent, were seen. In all these years, Russia remained at her own doors, ready to defend them, with no weapons for offensive war afloat.

In the early nineties, Russian policy began to turn eastward. What Bismarck did for the German Empire, Russia decided she



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would do for her vast Eastern and Western Empires—bind them together by a great intercontinental railway, connecting Moscow with Vladivostock. Time alone could show Europe the fresh dreams which this scheme cloaked, and time did show. With immense energy the task of laying the rails for nearly five thousand miles was taken in hand in sections, and the world applauded the project, holding that such a trunk line from Europe through Asia would be in the highest interest of civilization. England, of course, had a suspicion that this great railway development brought Russia nearer India and Persia, but she was alone. Japan was only slowly emerging out of a barbarian state; Germany was still without definite aims in the Far East; and the United States, with slight commercial attachments in the Eastern Seas and a determination not to be drawn into the vortex of the quarrels of European Powers, was comparatively unconcerned. Russia was encouraged in her task, and its accomplishment was hastened with all speed. The Fates conspired in her favor, and China began to attract the attention of the world. It had been intended to take the railway only to the Chinese frontier, and Russia then purposed sitting quietly until a chance arrived of driving on down to the warm water, and thus accomplishing her desire to find a back door free from ice. The way was paved by diplomacy, and the world only slowly realized that the Muscovite Power was becoming the dominant factor in China. Russia showed her hand in 1895, when she objected to the Shimonoseki treaty which was being negotiated between Japan and China on the termination of hostilities, and she robbed the victor of the spoils of war—the province of Manchuria. Soon afterwards, the world expressed itself as amazed at the definite seizure of Port Arthur and the arrangement with China for carrying through the railway from Moscow to the long-desired back door of Russia. From a European Power, with a great army and a defensive navy, Russia became a Power in the Far East, with a base for her fleet and a jumping-off place for any further enterprises. England might protest, but the deed was done, and the work of laying the railway to the sea was immediately pushed on with feverish haste, for such a line has a high strategic value. The task was well forward, when China again blindly played into the hands of Russia by failing to crush the anti-foreign movement, which, judging by results, might be styled pro-Russian, for it gave that Power an

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opportunity to tighten its hold on Manchuria, nominally for the protection of its railway. Of course, when the clouds for the time dispersed, Russia seconded the efforts of the other Powers to withdraw from China, and promised that she would hand back Manchuria to its rightful owners. The promise was accepted in good faith, and her allies brought home their troops and many of their ships of war, but Russia remained in Manchuria in full force. Dr. Morrison, writing recently to "The Times" after spending two months in this province, said:

"Russia has transformed Manchuria from a Chinese possession to a virtually Russian province. I saw the Russian city of Harbin upheaved bodily in the most fertile plain in the heart of Manchuria, and saw the thousands of solid buildings for permanent Russian occupation being built simultaneously by armies of Chinese workmen along the entire length of the railway. From the western frontier to Harbin is 605 miles, from Harbin to the eastern frontier 335 miles, from Harbin to Port Arthur 615 miles. So cleverly has the railway been traced, that there is not one important roadway in Manchuria which it does not command. In every case, evacuation means the removal of Russian troops to a point from which the city evacuated can be struck immediately and without resistance. Manchuria is absolutely dominated by Russia. All the officials are absolutely in her power."

In this wise has Russia made firm her grip on this slice of China; and, if she evacuates, her soldiers will still remain to guard the railway, which, in the opinion of Dr. Morrison, means that "she will be stronger after she has fulfilled to the letter her pledges of evacuation than she was before." Evidently, judging from more recent events, Russia does not entirely hold with this view, and her disposition is not to act in accordance with her pledges if a plausible excuse for their repudiation can be found, when England and the United States are occupied elsewhere and the opportunity is otherwise favorable for consummating her work in China by the final and avowed seizure of Manchuria, to the exclusion of the commerce of other Powers.

One can but marvel at the cleverness with which this work of Russifying a whole Chinese province—a territory larger than either Germany, France, or Austria-Hungary, and twice the size of Italy, with a population of 21,000,000 and immense undeveloped resources, especially timber and minerals (including gold and silver and coal), representing wealth beyond the dreams of

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avarice,—has been accomplished. Russia has conquered this desirable land without striking a blow, and at the same time has found time to tighten her grasp on Turkey, to spread her influence in the Persian Gulf and to feel her way surely but cautiously along the frontier of British India. Protests she has met with cool reliance on time to efface the newness of her footsteps, and she has never been disappointed.

Her policy in the Far East has been calculated to a nicety; every movement has been planned with care and circumspection, and every provision that forethought could suggest has been made in advance. Assured of her impregnability in Europe against a vital blow though the navies of the world combined in arms against her, Russia foresaw four years ago that in the Far East she would have to secure a naval supremacy if she were to carry out her policy. To overawe China with visible evidence of her power afloat was her aim; while, by means of her strategic railway, she would be able to demonstrate her ability to pour in troops from Europe. At the same time she needed a fleet to keep Japan, newly awakened to her future, in check. Ten years ago, as a naval Power in Far Eastern waters, Russia was an inconsiderable factor, and the British squadron had no serious rival. To-day, no fleet, if even the British and Japanese squadrons in the Far East combined, equals hers. It is on this foundation of a great fleet that the policy of Russia rests.

A navy cannot be improvised in a day or a month; an army of a kind can be readily raised and drilled into some order. For the past ten years, Russia has been acting on this truism of defence. Prior to the war between China and Japan, her naval expenditure had been slowly increased from year to year, but it was not until 1897 that she realized the full responsibility of her expansion in the Far East. It was in that year that the Tzar gave his sanction to a great naval programme, which was to be put in hand at once and pressed on with in all haste. With her own resources, even if she continued as in the past to draw on England for a portion of her machinery, she could not hope to build the new fleet in time to serve her purpose, and it was resolved to call in the aid of the other countries. In a few months, Englishmen, Americans, Germans, and of course Frenchmen, were busily engaged in the construction of war-ships for the Russian navy. The programme was spread over seven years and included the construction of

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eight first-class battle-ships, six large cruisers, ten smaller cruisers, twenty torpedo-boat destroyers, thirty torpedo boats, one submarine mine transport, one torpedo transport. One battle-ship and one cruiser were assigned to Cramps at Philadelphia, one battle-ship and two cruisers went to French yards, two cruisers were placed in Germany, while England received an order for a torpedo-boat destroyer.

With all speed the programme was put in hand and at once the naval expenditure leaped up at an astonishing rate. This fact may be appreciated from the following figures taken from the published Russian statements of naval expenditure, but they do not represent the full increase, because, apart from the sums included in the naval budget, large sums are spent from various sources which do not appear for the world's eyes to scan:

1887–9, £3,500,000 was the average sum spent;
1890, £4,234,000, rising to £6,102,000 in 1895;
1896, £6,388,000, rising to £7,089,000 in 1898;
1900, £9,121,000 rising to £10,815,000 in 1902.

The true significance of this augmentation in the expenditure on the fleet, marking a greater percentage than any other European navy since 1889, can be fully appreciated only if it is remembered that each new ship, as it has been completed, has been despatched to the Far East, that upwards of about one hundred millions, sterling, have been expended on the railway communications, while immense sums have been laid out in developing and fortifying Vladivostock and Port Arthur. Not for a moment has the policy of Russia waited for money, for the countries which have been building the ships have also been lending vast sums to carry on the policy of Eastern expansion.

In feverish haste Russia has practically completed her great naval programme; and last summer she was able to send as reinforcements for her squadron in the Far East no fewer than two of the new first-class battle-ships, and four cruisers. The naval force in Eastern seas has been increased year by year as the new men-of-war have been completed, with the result that Russia now has in those waters, six battle-ships, two large armored gunboats, twelve cruisers, including four armored, a large torpedo flotilla, three sloops, three torpedo gunboats, two torpedo vessels, two mining transports, and several small special-service ships. This

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is the formidable force already in these Far Eastern waters, ready to support the action of Russian diplomatists at every turn, and fresh reinforcements are frequently despatched. Russia's dreams are of the East, and she has had no ships for some years past to spare for the increase of her fleet in the West. Her present naval expenditure amounts to a charge equal to £15 13*s* 9*d* on every ton of her shipping, a sufficient indication that her navy has not been built, even in part, to protect her mercantile marine.

The policy of expansion which has been worked out with as little commotion as possible in the past few years, is apparently nearing completion; and, by the time Russia throws off all reserve, she will have secured her position in the Far East so well that any attempt to hinder her will only be possible at the cost of a terrible war; it cannot be doubted that, after so great a financial sacrifice, Russia will not permit herself to be deprived of her spoils. She is in China, and there she will remain, mistress of Manchuria, mistress of the neighboring waters, and the dominant military Power also in this section of China, since her railway will enable her to pour troops into the peninsula at the shortest notice, to reinforce the huge garrison which has been quartered there for years past, housed in new permanent barracks.

The growth in the naval armaments of Russia can be illustrated with sufficient accuracy by taking the number of battle-ships ten years ago, with their displacement, and we thus get the following comparison:

| | 1893 | | 1903 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | Tons | No. | Tons |
| Battle-ships | 15 | 133,000 | 21 | 230,700 |
| Large Cruisers | 10 | 63,400 | 15 | 116,300 |

This increase has been achieved in spite of the process of weeding out old ships which has been in progress in these ten years; all the battle-ships in the navy now, except one small one, are less than twenty-five years old, and only two of the cruisers exceed that age; whereas, ten years ago, anything that could float was good enough to be counted a man-of-war, battle-ship or cruiser as the case might be. Now a nicer discrimination is shown, and yet Russia is able to claim a great advance; in fact her strength in big ships has been almost doubled, and the process of augmenting her forces is still being energetically pressed forward. Including only the ships which were actually in hand on

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January 1st of this year, and casting forward to the date of their completion, it appears that on January 1st, 1907, after eliminating all vessels more than twenty-five years old, her fleet will comprise 25 battle-ships of 302,900 tons, and 14 large cruisers of 110,100 tons.

In this connection, it may be interesting to append some comparative figures, showing the numerical strength (with total displacement in parentheses) of the other great navies at the same date, 1907, apart from any new ships which it may have been decided to lay down since January 1st last, none of which can, however, be at sea under ordinary circumstances by the beginning of 1907:

| | Great Britain | France | Germany |
|---|---|---|---|
| Battle - ships | 54 (749,300) | 31 (344,900) | 19 (213,000) |
| Large Cruisers | 76 (681,800) | 30 (255,500) | 11 ( 82,100) |

| | United States | Italy | Japan |
|---|---|---|---|
| Battle - ships | 21 (260,500) | 14 (171,800) | 6 (86,500) |
| Large Cruisers | 16 (181,200) | 5 (35,300) | 6 (59,000) |

These figures are taken from the recently published "*Taschenbuch der Kriegsflotten*," and may be regarded not only as generally accurate, but free from that form of special pleading to which even statistics are liable in biassed hands.

Even now, the Russian government is not satisfied with its naval strength; and in the present year it has been decided that, as the 1898 programme has been practically completed, another programme shall be put in hand forthwith. This scheme includes six battle-ships, larger and with a much greater radius of action than any which have been built hitherto. As Russia's need for ships in the Far East has grown, she has recognized the disabilities of the ships with which she was satisfied ten or fifteen years ago, ships of small displacement with little coal and small room for ammunition and stores; and every ship which is now ordered is designed to be as self-supporting as any ship of war can be. The new battle-ships, consequently, are to displace 16,000 tons. All Russian ships are well designed down to the minutest detail; they have good speed and are more heavily armed than the vessels of most navies. Moreover, they are well kept in all details, as is evident from the most cursory glance betweendecks.

Thanks to her conscriptive system, Russia has no difficulty in

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finding men, but the demands of late years have outrun the supply in her maritime provinces. In ten years her personnel, now standing at 62,000, has been nearly doubled. She has been compelled to go inland, with the result that to-day her fleet is manned to some extent by agricultural laborers and other landsmen with no liking for or familiarity with the sea. It remains to be seen how these men develop during their five to seven years' training, but of their comrades from the maritime districts it is sufficient to say that Napoleon thought highly of the qualities of Russian sailors drawn from the sea coast. The conditions of war have changed in the past hundred years, it is true. The battles of Nelson's day were, to some extent, sailors' battles, while those of to-morrow will be admirals' battles in a large degree. Still, it is the sailors who feed, aim, and fire the guns; and it is the guns which deal the blows at an enemy. No one who knows the Russian naval officer doubts his courage and capacity, and his men are as children, savage but obedient children, with a wild zest for the excitement of war.

Is it not true that the development of the Russian navy along the lines indicated is one of the most significant movements of the past few years? It has really been accomplished without seriously offending any one, for even in England to-day, where trade is said to govern policy, there are those who urge that there need be no cause of quarrel between the two countries.

In ten years Russia has concentrated her attention on Turkey and the Balkans, on Persia and on the Far East. She sits ever watching the absorption of the other Powers in this or that enterprise or quarrel, and seizes the right moment to pull one or two of the strings. In face of Turkey, decrepit and bankrupt, she has had no need for a greatly increased navy in the Black Sea; and thus it has come about that she has merely maintained at reasonable strength her European squadrons, with an eye on Germany, while she has massed her new ships in the Far East, and poured out millions of money in developing her new bases, Vladivostock and Port Arthur, making firm the foundation of her ascendency in China. It has cost her already more than the South-African war cost Great Britain, but she has been able to meet the strain and believes that the future will amply recompense her.

ARCHIBALD S. HURD.

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# FEDERATED LABOR AS A NEW FACTOR IN BRITISH POLITICS.

BY J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P.

THE Independent Labor Party is a Socialist, and not, as its title might seem to imply, a purely working-class organization. It aims at the creation of a Co-operative Commonwealth, founded upon the socialization of land and capital. Its methods of realizing its objects are, to educate the community in the principles of Socialism and to secure the return to Parliament and to all elected bodies of members representative of its principles. Since its formation in 1893, it has been regarded as the stormy petrel of politics, and has kept itself well in evidence mainly by running its own candidates and by missionary zeal and activity. The actual paying membership of the party is returned at 13,000, including a fair proportion of the educated and well-to-do classes who see in Socialism the only hope for solving the social problem. The yearly income of the party averages £25,000. As the bulk of this comes from the wage-earning classes, and as the payments are purely voluntary, this sum argues a considerable degree of sincerity. In addition to the regular membership named above, the party commands the active political support of that very large and rapidly growing section of the community which has lost faith in the Liberal Party as an effective instrument of reform. The energies of its members are tireless, and its political resources are apparently inexhaustible. It is a standing illustration of the truth of John Stuart Mill's axiom, that in politics one man with convictions is equal to ninety-nine who have only interests.

Prior to 1893, there had been no sustained effort to create a Labor Party in Britain. In the early sixties, the old International Working Men's Association promised for a time to become a power, but it went down under the Continental influence by which

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it was dominated. During the seven years ending 1874, there was great political activity among trades-unionists, who were at that time endeavoring to secure full legal recognition for their organizations. The effort culminated with the running of seventeen Labor candidates at the General Election in the year named and the defeat of the Liberal Party. The year following saw the passing of the Bills which secured full recognition to the trades-union movement; and, the object aimed at having thus been gained, the leaders of the movement lapsed back into the ranks of their ordinary political allegiance and there the matter ended.

Nothing more was done until 1887, when the Labor Electoral Association came into being. It succeeded in existing, in struggling fashion, for a few short years, and then collapsed, without leaving any indication of its ever having been. At that time, there was considerable ferment in the Labor world, and the Labor Electoral Association, with its half-hearted policy, alienated the support of the active spirits by its feverish anxiety not to offend orthodox political opinion.

Somewhere about 1880, William Morris and H. M. Hyndman commenced their Socialist propaganda; and the Social Democratic Federation, modelled largely on the lines of the German organization of that name, was formed and for a time enlisted in its ranks most of the men who have since become powerful in connection with Labor politics. But it failed to hold them. William Morris withdrew and formed the Socialist League, and John Burns and others of equal standing left owing to disagreement with the tactics which were being pursued.

The great Dock Strike of 1888 may be taken as the starting point of the new Labor movement, as, with the single exception of John Burns, all the men who came to the surface during that convulsive period were subsequently identified with the inception and propaganda work of the Independent Labor Party. At the General Elections of 1892, a number of Labor candidates were run by local organizations in various parts of the country; and, the year following, at a conference held in Bradford in Yorkshire, at which one hundred and twenty representatives of various Labor and Socialist organizations attended, the Independent Labor Party was definitely launched and entered upon its career.

At that time, the Liberal party was in office, with a small and precarious majority. Trade was much depressed, and tens of

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thousands of workmen were roaming the country in fruitless search for employment. As is usual at elections, great hopes and expectations had been formed as to what would happen if the Liberals were returned. In the very nature of things, it was impossible that these hopes could be realized; and, as the months slipped into years, enthusiastic Radicals, finding that their party in office was apparently as unable or as unwilling to do anything effective for Labor as their Conservative opponents had been, deserted in thousands and cast in their lot with the newly formed Independent Labor Party. At every by-election in an industrial centre, the Independent Labor Party ran a candidate, with results which surprised friends and opponents alike. In only one case did the Labor candidate come within measurable distance of winning; but in every case the number of votes polled showed the strength of the feeling of discontent which existed in the constituencies. In those days, the hand of every man was against the Independent Labor Party, which had dared to set itself in opposition to the cherished political traditions of the nation. The press, the pulpit, and the platform fulminated and stormed against the new movement; whilst the usual misrepresentations and silly inventions were freely indulged in and, of course, as freely believed. The party, however, held on its way unswerving. Its members were enthusiasts, but not mere theorists; there was always a method behind their apparent madness. Inspired by a Socialist ideal, they yet managed to keep their feet firm on solid earth; and the politicians learned that the British workman, despite his well-known proclivities, could be a practical kind of idealist when properly led. At the General Election of 1895 the party ran twenty-eight candidates of its own, every one of whom, including the present writer, was defeated. As showing the state of feeling at that time, I may remark, in passing, that the return of my Conservative opponent was announced, at the National Liberal Club, as a Liberal triumph. The Independent Labor Party vote represented just under thirty per cent. of the electoral strength in those constituencies which its candidates had contested. In 1900, we had the Khaki election, when, despite the fact that all its candidates were Pro-Boers and as such anathema to every "patriotic" voter, the party vote showed a largely increased following, and in one case, my own, won a seat from a Liberal who had given an enthusiastic support to the war in South Africa.

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Up to this stage, 1900, the idea of seeking to create a Labor Party had, in the main, been confined to the ranks of the Independent Labor Party. Where a trades-union had sought representation in Parliament, the candidate was put forward as a working-man Liberal or Conservative, as the case might be. Recent events, however, chiefly the decisions of the law courts in trades-union cases, have led to a new and startling development. The trades-unions have practically cut themselves adrift from their old political moorings, and they are heading direct for the open sea of Labor Representation and a Labor Party. I have already indicated how the Houses of Parliament gave full recognition and legal standing to the trades-unions. For close upon thirty years, the law was assumed to regard trades-unions as voluntary organizations, in the nature of clubs, which could neither sue nor be sued, and as not being entities known to the law, since they were not an individual, a corporation, or a company. Picketing, it was assumed, had also been fully legalized, including the power to "peacefully persuade" men to abstain from working. The strike in all its phases, it was supposed, had been legalized. The decisions of the law courts in recent cases have upset these suppositions. Employers of labor have been able to sue trades-unions as such and obtain damages from the funds, in one case amounting to £23,000 for the alleged illegal acts of the union officials. Peaceful persuasion whilst picketing has been held to be clearly illegal, rendering the pickets liable to imprisonment; whilst the sympathetic strike has been once again brought within the definition of the common law of conspiracy. These facts have naturally alarmed the trades-unionists and forced them into the political arena. With the very existence of trades-unions imperilled, they instinctively feel that they cannot trust either of the political parties to see justice done them.

For years past, the feeling in favor of a direct Labor Party has been making steady headway within the trades-union movement, but it was held in check by the fact that the ranks were about equally divided in their allegiance to the Liberal and Conservative parties. Many of the leaders of the unions, on the other hand, had been brought into political conflict with the militant spirits of the Independent Labor Party, and, as a consequence, were none too well disposed towards that movement. To the onlooker, the result seemed to be a tangle, escape from which was almost hope-

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less. Where the will exists, however, the way will usually be found; and so, when legal necessity compelled the trades-unionists to face the situation, they resolved, at their annual congress in 1889, to call an open conference of representatives of Trades-Unionism, Socialism and Co-operation, to consider what means could be devised for securing more adequate representation of Labor interests in the House of Commons. The conference was held, and what has since been known as the Labor Representation Committee came into existence. Perhaps its objects will best be defined by quoting from its constitution, as amended by the annual meeting this year:

"1. The Labour Representation Committee is a Federation of Trades-Unions, Trades-Councils, the Independent Labour Party, and the Fabian Society. Co-operative Societies are also eligible for membership.

"Object. 2. To secure, by united action, the election to Parliament of candidates promoted, in the first instance, by an Affiliated Society or Societies in the constituency, who undertake to form or join a distinct group in Parliament, with its own whips and its own policy on Labour questions, to abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any section of the Liberal or Conservative party, and not to oppose any other candidate recognised by this Committee. All such candidates shall pledge themselves to accept this Constitution, to abide by the decisions of the Group in carrying out the aims of this constitution or to resign, and to appear before their constituencies under the title of Labour candidates only."

The Labor Representation Committee is financed by each affiliated organization paying ten shillings for each thousand members. This is for working expenses. In addition, there is a Payment of Members fund, to which each affiliated organization contributes one penny per member *per annum,* and from which it is expected each member returned to Parliament, under the auspices of the Committee, will be paid £200 a year.

That the time was ripe for this new movement is fully evidenced by the fact, that in England and Wales—Scotland having a separate organization—over 900,000 trades-unionists are now affiliated. The movement, as stated above, is a federation, the basis of which is, that each affiliated organization shall finance its own candidates and become responsible for their maintenance if returned to Parliament, each, however, combining with the others to secure the return of their respective nominees. Thus far, a considerable amount of success has attended the new move-

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ment. Since the General Election, it has fought four Parliamentary vacancies, two of its candidates being successful and the other two just missing success. From the outset, it has assumed an attitude of rigid independence towards the orthodox parties, with surprising results. The Conservative working-men and their Liberal fellows are finding in the new movement a platform upon which they can stand whilst working for the realization of an object common to both, the protection of their unions and the promotion of their interests as wage-earners. The financial difficulty, which at one time bulked so large when the question of Labor Representation was being considered, has been solved by a contribution of one shilling per member *per annum* to a Labor Representation Fund. By this means, an annual income of not less than £50,000 has been secured. All the principal trades-unions have selected candidates, and these are being eagerly sought after by industrial constituencies. The National Liberal Federation, at its annual meeting a few weeks ago, fully recognized the strength and importance of this new development in Labor politics, and practically advised Liberal Associations in industrial constituencies to stand aside in favor of Labor nominees when these were put forward. Unless the election be rushed, it is a safe estimate that not less than fifty Labor candidates will enter the lists at the next General Election, under the auspices of the Labor Representation Committee, a fair proportion of whom are certain to be returned. They will not all be Socialists, but they will all be Labor members pledged to the formation of a Labor Party in the House of Commons, and to the raising of the Condition of the People question as a distinct political issue.

Circumstances are favorable to the development of the new movement. Apart from the trades-union demands, already referred to, wider issues of greater importance are being opened up daily. The questions of the hour are no longer political but industrial and economic. The growth of the trusts, the precariousness of employment, the increased cost of living and the growing desire on the part of the working class for a larger share in the prosperity of the nation, are all tending to foment a spirit of unrest. Nor is this to be wondered at. On every hand, there is evidence of a surplusage of wealth, in which the worker has little share. If there has been a slight increase in wages, there has also been an increase in house-rent and in certain articles of food,

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which has more than redressed the balance. In the staple industries of the country, broken time has become almost chronic; and, whilst this does not diminish the nominal weekly wage, it plays sad havoc with the actual income. Even for the well-to-do artisan, therefore, there is much in his lot of which he has good reason to complain. It does not help him at all to be told that the wealth of the nation is growing at an unprecedented rate; that last year the income of the rich, as shown by the income tax returns was £40,000,000 in excess of the previous year; or that in five years the revenue brought to the exchequer from a penny rate on incomes of £160 and upwards, has gone up by £600,000, or from £2,000,000 to £2,600,000. This may be evidence of national prosperity; but, as an individual, the wage-earner does not feel any the richer, nor is his lot in life made any the more easy.

When we leave the skilled artisan, however, we begin to sound an unfathomable depth of poverty. Wages of agricultural laborers are returned by the Government as averaging, for the whole of England and Wales, thirteen shillings and eightpence per week. Out of this miserable pittance, house-rent has to be paid and a family maintained. Only in very rare instances is the agricultural laborer permitted to eke out this sum by the cultivation of a little plot of land. The farmers, who have the control of the machinery by which the Allotments Act could be put into operation, are strangely averse to giving their laborers opportunities for improving their condition. There are those who argue in favor of a protective duty on corn, as a means of enabling the farmer to pay his laborer better wages; but these are forgetful of the fact that, in the days of high protection in England, the agricultural wages were little over half what they are now, and that, in common with other workers, the laborer's lot, in so far as it has improved, has done so under the operation of Free Trade. It is not alone the agricultural laborer who is living on the verge of starvation all the year round. Recent investigations, conducted by merchant princes like Mr. Charles Booth in London, and Mr. Seebohm Rowntree in York, the results of which have been since given to the world with a wealth of detailed evidence which permits of no dubiety as to the conclusions, prove that close upon thirty per cent. of the working class are not in receipt of sufficient income to enable them to obtain, for themselves and their dependents, the standard of comfort which they would receive as paupers

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in the Poor House or as criminals in gaol. This fact has startled and alarmed people. The comfortable theory that formerly existed, that, but for drunkenness and want of thrift, the working class would all be contented, prosperous and happy, has been shivered to atoms; and, for the first time in her long career of self-delusion, England has been brought face to face with the fact that, despite her world-wide trade, her unparalleled wealth and prosperity, her growing bounds of empire and her political, mechanical and intellectual progress, there is at the foundation of her society an amount of misery and destitution, due to low wages, which casts a dark shadow over the whole national life, and shows how insecure are the foundations upon which the whole structure of her wealth has been raised. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the leader of the Liberal Party, in a recent speech, declared his belief that twelve millions of our population were always living at or under the poverty line. In plain language, this means that twelve millions of the British people are improperly fed, insufficiently clothed and inadequately housed. The Census returns tell us that 480,277 houses of one room are registered in England, Scotland and Wales, and that these contain a living population of 1,571,504. From one to two rooms is a very short step in the social scale; but, on the same authority from which we have just quoted, we learn that forty-four per cent. of the people of Scotland are accommodated in houses of one or two rooms. Speaking with a good deal of practical experience, I assert that, in three cases out of five, the householder of two rooms will be found to be indulging in one or two lodgers, from which it follows that a worse form of overcrowding occurs than when there is only one apartment. With this condition of things staring them in the face, with no hope perceivable of any improvement, there is little wonder that the more thoughtful leaders of the working class have made up their minds to see how far a Labor Party can be instrumental in securing reform. Many of them, although not all, accept Socialism as being not only inevitable but desirable. They reason that, if commercialism, in the heyday of its prosperity and with the markets of the world at its unchallenged disposal, has produced such results as those indicated above, it has little chance, now that it has passed its zenith and is being faced with the ever-increasing competition from other countries, to succeed in the future where it has failed in the past. To men

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who are Socialists, an independent Labor Party is a logical outcome of their economic faith.

But even those trades-union leaders who are not Socialists—and there are many—are equally convinced of the necessity of the new departure. The break-up of the Liberal Party has been an important influence in leading them to this position. Free Trade, despite Mr. Chamberlain, is at present the accepted creed of both great parties. On the subject of Imperial expansion, there is little to choose between the two sides; and it is doubtful whether, even with the Liberals in office, the military and naval expenditure, which in a dozen years has gone up from £28,000,000 to £70,000,000 a year, would be materially lessened. There is no evidence whatever that either party has the remotest idea of how to grapple with the social problem and remove poverty from the land. Added to all this, there is a growing feeling that the interests of Labor cannot be adequately safeguarded or protected until there is a Labor Party charged with that particular responsibility. Therefore it is that all true trades-union leaders who are not Socialists are equally determined to wean Labor from its political dependence on some other party, and to place it in a position where it can formulate its own demands. These men see how, in twenty years, an Independent Irish Party has succeeded in convincing, not merely the Liberals, but also the Conservatives, of the justice of their claims. The Irish Land Bill now before the House of Commons, pledging the credit of the state to the extent of hundreds of millions of money to enable the Irish farmer to buy out his landlord, is a standing evidence of what can be done by an independent and resolute party, knowing its own mind and acting entirely in the interests of the classes it represents, and Labor leaders are determined to make an effort to copy this example.

To conclude, the British working-man is for the movement, thoroughly in earnest about the formation of a Labor Party, and he will not be easily turned aside from his purpose. He is realizing as he has never done before, that, with seven-tenths of the voting power in his hands, he is master of the political situation. With a party of his own, he will play an ever-increasing part in the great drama of politics, and be less easily led than heretofore by the charlatan and the office-seeker.

J. KEIR HARDIE.



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# WOMAN'S INFERIOR POSITION IN A REPUBLIC.

BY MRS. KATE T. WOOLSEY, AUTHOR OF "REPUBLICS *versus* WOMAN."

THE most serious humiliations, I remember, which my sex pride endured were suffered—first, when, yet almost an infant, I heard my father say that he was ashamed to record, in the law-book he was writing, the fact that the legal status of the white wife in his State was little better than that of the former negro slave; second, when, still a tiny girl, I heard an African member of Congress, who had been a slave in our family, say that he was opposed to adding an Amendment to the Constitution which would place the white women of the nation upon a public equality with negro men; third, when I heard native-born American ladies address a foreign-born committee of a Legislature to plead for their enfranchisement; fourth, when I witnessed a man who had emigrated from Ireland throw a petition, which was presented by numerous American ladies to his Legislature, into a Legislature's waste-paper basket, with the remark that "legislators have more important matters to attend to than the affairs of women"; fifth, when, after paying more taxes than the thirteen Colonies were expected to pay to England in six months under the stamp-act, I was told by a foreign-born member of Congress that the founders of the United States Republic had meant that "taxation without representation is tyranny" for *men* only; sixth, when I witnessed at Washington a Presidential Inauguration: as the President drove through the streets, escorted by thousands of men and witnessed by tens of thousands of citizens, I noticed that there was no woman at his side, no women in his escort, no women as attendants upon the platform, and that the whole proceeding was one of males, males, males. I fully realized then that the United States Republic is a monstrous regimen of men

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—a strictly masculine monopoly, a purely male oligarchy. I fully realized then that my government was one of men, by men and for men; that I lived under the absolute and arbitrary rule of millions of male rulers, and that there were millions of women therein whose political status was no higher than that of the subjects of Turkey or China. Never before had my pride of *sex* been so cruelly humiliated.

I then recalled the fact that my Colonial ancestors, on both sides of the family, had taken up both arms and pen against English rule in America, because that government had refused them its highest recognition. I then remembered that the Colonies had possessed municipal and local self-government, with every right except representation in Parliament. But, notwithstanding all this, they repudiated English supremacy and established a new government. I then decided that I would not be a worthy descendant of my progenitors, if I did not rebel against a government which refused my sex its highest recognition, and which placed its women under the dominion of millions of males, of every condition and degree of life, from every land under the sun.

Within a few days thereafter I landed in England. The first notable sight I witnessed was Queen Victoria passing through the streets of London upon a state occasion. I observed that a state occasion in a monarchy is not an affair of males, males, males. I noted that here, in an aristocracy, a woman was at the head of the government, and I saw that woman receive more homage and honor in a few hours than the combined womanhood of the combined republics of the world had received in a hundred years. As the Queen-Empress drove about the city, I noted that there were women in her coach, that there were women in her escort. There were women in attendance when she opened Parliament; and it was obvious that this government was *not* of men, by men, and for men—a strictly masculine monopoly, a purely male oligarchy. For the first time in all my life, I lifted my head with pride of sex and was even ready to face the world! I realized that day that a woman can be the political head in a monarchy, but that in no republic can a woman ever reach this zenith and pinnacle of power.

This sharp contrast between the "first lady" in the largest democracy of earth and the first lady in the largest aristocracy

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of Christendom burned into my memory. I saw that the former was the political inferior of even the lowest man in the land, and that the latter was the political superior of any of the two hundred million men in the Empire. I then looked about the city of London, and found that here, in the metropolis of a monarchy, there were streets, boulevards, parks, markets, libraries, railway stations, theatres, opera-houses, ships of the navy, regiments in the army, holidays, and other things which bore the names of native women as tributes of esteem; and I recalled the fact that in the metropolis of the Republic no such things were named in honor of American women. I soon discovered that there was not a single right, liberty, or privilege enjoyed by women in the United States Republic which the women in the British Empire had not gained; and I found that these latter had not endured the delay, the humiliation, the self-sacrifice in gaining recognition or power which the former had had to pass through. I soon saw that the United States Republic had added nothing to woman's power, influence or opportunity, either political, legal, or civil beyond what women possessed in British territory, and that it had robbed its women of many of the powers, glories, favors, honors and opportunities from which woman is not excluded by her sex in the British Empire.

I kept my counsel, however, and, as I have never been identified with the "woman cause," I said nothing publicly about it.

About ten years ago, I met a Russian lady of pre-eminent rank and great wealth who congratulated me upon being a citizen of a republic. As my allegiance to my sex is greater than it is to any theory ever established by men, I replied I could not see that being a citizen of a republic was a matter for any woman to be congratulated upon. She was amazed at this and asked me for an explanation; whereupon I asserted that I was confident that our sex had not fared so badly, either politically or legally, at the hands of the Russian government as at the hands of the United States Republic. Each of us wagered that the other was wrong; and, to settle the question, we agreed to gather certain data concerning women in our respective countries. We found—that, while in America millions of wives had no individual control over their property, for about two centuries every wife in Russia had been the legal mistress of her own fortune; that, while every woman householder in Russia had had the

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right to vote on all municipal matters for several centuries, millions of women in the American Republic had no such rights; that 9000 wives were deserted by husbands in the Republic to 500 in Russia; that thousands of tiny girls were employed in factories in the Republic, while no little girls can be legally employed by Russian factories; and that more women work in the fields of the Republic than in the fields of Russia.

But I still kept my counsel. Several years ago, while again travelling in Europe, I addressed a body of women, most of whom were anarchists. Some of them were willing, however, to temporize or to compromise with constitutional and representative governments. I first addressed myself to these. I showed them that the United States Republic was a constitutional government and was based upon "no taxation without representation," but that its Constitution excluded women from its scope of justice, and that it taxed them without representation. I showed them the desperate, disheartening, cruel sufferings which women had undergone in constitutional and representative governments to gain recognition, justice or power. To the women who were uncompromising anarchists, I held up to view the anarchies in South America. I showed them that in those countries, which are anarchies pure and simple, the status of woman was far lower than that of the sex even in Oriental lands. I convinced them that the risks and efforts they were incurring in behalf of anarchism were senseless and useless, from the standpoint of being useful or beneficial to their sex, and I revealed to them that the bird they sought to capture was of the same species as that captured by republican women—the Vulture, and not the Bird of Paradise.

After delivering this lecture, I thought no more of the matter until after President McKinley was assassinated by an anarchist, when the ladies who had listened to me prevailed upon me to publish the same. I have just done so in a book called "Republics *versus* Woman." My motive in publishing the book is to convince women that neither republicanism, socialism, nor anarchism is or can become a benefit to their sex. I have shown the discontented women in the British Empire that the Colonies which broke away from English rule had seriously injured and handicapped woman thereby—that, in a British white population of only fifty million people, over five million women pos-

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sessed more liberal municipal suffrage than even five hundred thousand women in the United States Republic of eighty million people; and that one million five hundred thousand women in British possessions enjoyed more liberal general suffrage than even one hundred and fifty thousand women in the United States Republic. I am also showing therein the women of Italy and Spain, who are trying to foster republicanism in those countries, that in the Latin provinces which seceded from monarchical rule and set up republics, women had not advanced but had instead been lapsing back to primeval conditions. I show women anarchists the status of their sex in the republics of South America, where the very reverse of what anarchists promise in theory has happened upon experiment.

KATE T. WOOLSEY.

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# THE ECONOMIC RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES WITH ITALY.

BY LUIGI LUZZATTI.

## I.

GREAT nations, like great geniuses, although possessing the consciousness of their power, do not entirely comprehend the active influence which they exercise in the world. This is a providential circumstance, since otherwise their arrogance would become overwhelming and their exertions would be attended by less profit to themselves and to humanity at large. The importance attached by Europe to the marvellous economic development of the United States of America exceeds that attributed to it by Americans themselves, as may be seen from the publications, inquiries, enactments, and precautions which it has called forth in the states of Europe, and by the dread of it displayed in International Congresses.*

When, about 1879, regular cargoes of American corn began to be landed in Europe, they produced an absolute agrarian revolution, the effects of which soon became universally apparent; it was as though immense new territories, more fertile and productive, while less heavily burdened, had been added to the lands of ancient Europe, which were already cultivated to the last inch at a very heavy cost. Ricardo's formula of rent was reversed. Bread became cheaper, and the prayer of the Gospel, "Give us our daily bread," flowed more easily from the hearts and lips of the poor; but landowners found their circumstances altered.

* At the last International Congress of Roman Agriculturists in April of the current year, the representatives of the German Agrarians presented themselves with the intention of organizing a League of European States against the competition of the United States. The writer has pleasure in saying that he successfully opposed this project, as will be seen later.

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Rents were reduced, and almost everywhere, in order to lessen the reduction, protective tariffs upon grain were imposed or increased,—means of defence which are more obvious, if not more efficacious, than improving the method of cultivation and varying its objects.

This was the greatest economic revolution ever accomplished in the space of a few years; that of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, caused by the discovery of precious metals in America, took a longer time to make itself felt.

Now, face to face with the marvellous industrial activity which keeps pace with the agrarian prosperity of America, face to face with the mysterious organization of trusts, powerfully supported by strongly protective tariffs, and with the existence of a war navy and mercantile marine of equal strength, the people of Europe ask themselves anxiously whether they are not upon the eve of a new economic revolution, no less formidable than that produced in 1879 by the export of corn. Governments, economists and producers keep watch and ward as if they were in the presence of some imminent danger, and those who are least judicious or most heavily involved are already raising the cry to mobilize economic Europe against America.

And, indeed, the economic powers of the United States possess something naturally invincible, like the primitive and inexhaustible forces of Nature herself; they are potentially as strong as those of the whole of Europe, nor is the threat of a European league far from becoming a serious one.

The greatest diversity of climate and of productions—of metals from the most precious to the most useful, of gold, of silver, of petroleum, of coal, of iron, of cotton, to the most varied products of the earth and of manufactures, a territory as large as Europe, connected by a greater number of kilometres of railway lines,—it is, in very truth, "the blooming youth of the world and of life," of which Lucretius spoke: "*Ista florida novitas mundi.*"

The European economists of the classical Manchester school objected to the protective system on the ground that it dulls the intelligence of the producers, and arrests the progress of science in its application to the soil and the factory, and blunts the inventive faculties. But Americans appear destined to disprove the most firmly established economic doctrines with the powerful originality of their operations. They have drawn from the pro-

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tective system the assurance necessary to intensify in the most stupendous fashion the application of science to production. The system of protection, instead of checking their inventive imagination, has lent it wings. The American nation makes better use of tools, machinery, physics, and chemistry, to shorten and improve the processes of production, than do England and Germany. This renders possible the steady output of goods in a manner unknown even to England, with the incentive of rewards for the best workers and participation in the profits of the undertakings. Protective tariffs, trusts, technical perfection of production, immense output of goods—these terms, which appeared to be contradictions in Europe, have been reconciled in the United States by means of singular compensations operating spontaneously.

The fact is that to-day Europe is awaiting the invasion of manufactures, as formerly she underwent the agrarian invasion and made terms with it; and the protective tariffs, together with trusts and other combinations, which permit of sale at a higher price in the immense internal market of the United States, are being transformed in their turn into export duties. And in Europe many inquiries are being made for means of defence proportionate to this danger, not only by the German Agrarians at the Congress of Rome, but by many influential statesmen.

A point which is not easy of comprehension is, how, with such a prodigious increase of economic powers, the United States show so much hesitation in competing with the European market, and in opening at least a small loophole of free competition by moderating in some degree the semi-prohibitive system.

The late President McKinley, who was certainly not an advocate of free trade, and regarded the subject of tariffs with great reserve, concluded commercial treaties, based upon the fourth section of the Dingley tariff, with France, the Argentine Republic, Jamaica (by arrangement with England), etc., etc. In spite of the signature of McKinley, which should be now more than ever sacred, these treaties have been mouldering for four years in the archives of the Committees of the Senate. These conventions are anything but the expression of Free Trade, since by the tariff law of 1897, as is well known, the high duties of the Dingley tariff cannot be diminished by more than twenty per cent. This hesitation it is impossible to explain; it is not to be believed that such a powerful nation would shrink from such a slight diminution

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of duties, which could certainly not give free play to European competition. And, in fact, at the recent Congress of Rome, Méline, in his own name and that of his friends, gave utterance to scruples as to the acceptance of the convention on the part of the French Parliament, thus expressing the well-known timidity of the Colbertian French spirit in matters of tariff. I venture to explain this attitude of mind of the United States towards tariffs in the following manner.

On the one hand, there is the knowledge that the exports of the United States to all countries of the world have something inevitable and irresistible in their nature; that they will continually increase, and cannot be impeded by foreign tariffs any more than rivers in flood can be controlled by insignificant dams. How can bread, petroleum, etc., be declined by states which require these articles? How is it possible to reject agricultural machines of the greatest ingenuity and utility, which lessen the cost of production? On the other hand, the reduction of duties might perhaps have, or at least so it is feared, the first effect of cutting down wages, and that is undesirable; upon this point there is a sort of "holy alliance," as in the English colonies, between capital and labor, agriculture and industry, in the protective American system. The writer is not judging these conditions, but merely seeking to explain them, as he believes, correctly. He is speaking as a European and an Italian; if he were an American he would feel less hesitation in speaking plainly.

It may be added that, in the United States of America, the consciousness of international obligations is less keen and delicate than in the methodical and more ritually disposed Governments of Europe. With us, when a government contracts a commercial treaty, it is impossible for Parliament to refuse to examine it, and rarely is such a treaty rejected. Only four times since 1878 has a commercial treaty been rejected by the French Chamber of Deputies. On the contrary, in the United States there is a wall of division between the President of the Republic and Congress; every one follows his own sweet will, and the refusal to discuss treaties, which in Europe would have produced crises of government or dissolutions of the Chambers, appears the most natural thing in the world in the United States, where the Constitution excludes Cabinet crises and dissolutions of parliament. Americans are inviolable, unassailable, as much by reason of their

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natural strength as by their innate indifference to diplomatic forms. And this peculiarity, which would be regarded as an infirmity in a European state, in them assumes the appearance of superiority. To a young nation which has no history but what it has made for itself, and which is separated from the jealousies and *etiquette* of Europe, much may be pardonable; and if some European Government resents it, the United States pronounce their own absolution. But if the menaces of the German Agrarians are not sufficient to alarm the United States, the latter should yet seriously think of examining their fiscal conscience, in order to avoid irritating reprisals and unpleasant discussions at their expense.

II.

A great prejudice against Italy is shown by the manner in which the United States apply the formula of the most-favored-nation treatment to the treaties of commerce which they contract. It is this which differentiates the method of the United States from that of Europe. In Europe, with a few exceptions for the frontier trade, extended sometimes to an extreme degree and with a very wide interpretation between certain States to the exclusion of others, the principle of the most-favored nation has no limitations. A state treats with another only upon a certain number of heads; but it knows that the concessions made in the future to other states upon those heads or upon others will be also extended to itself. This is a species of participation of profits, which absolutely excludes differential tariffs so long as the treaties hold good. In the course of negotiations all this is taken into account, and a reduction of tariffs in return for other concessions is not insisted upon when it is considered probable that it will be obtained by other governments. These operations offer tactical scope for much strategic skill in the field of negotiations. But this method has the inestimable benefit of rendering it possible to treat upon equal terms, and of admitting under similar conditions the competition of all those with whom treaties have been contracted. It confers a species of general uniformity upon genuine competition. The matter is not regarded thus by the United States. They demand that they shall be treated in negotiations with more favor than any of the states of Europe, and push this claim to the farthest possible extreme; hitherto, very great concessions have been made to them, but they do not

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consent to reciprocity of terms. They receive in practice, as they are so often accustomed to do, the application of the formula of equal treatment, but they do not apply it to their own case. In the last negotiation concluded with Italy on February 8th, 1900, according to the third section of the Dingley tariff, the United States demanded and obtained from Italy the unlimited "treatment of the most-favored nation," so that they will profit by all tariff reductions which we have made in our former negotiations; but they have not conceded the same to us. The writer is not aware whether they were requested to do so by the Italian negotiator; but if they were, the American negotiator probably replied that the United States are in the habit of demanding certain concessions which they do not grant to others.

The absence of this formula, denied by the United States to Italy, was of great prejudice to the latter country; and it is well to explain the matter in its technical particulars, in order to illustrate the difficulties in which their friends are placed when defending them from certain criticisms which are anything but groundless, and which were felt recently by the writer when replying to the German Agrarians at the International Congress of Agriculturists in Rome.

Leaving other negotiations out of the question, the two agreements concluded by the President of the United States with France and Jamaica possess a very great interest for Italy. France has obtained from five to twenty per cent. reductions of duties upon 135 categories of goods, according to the fourth section of the Dingley tariff; England has obtained for Jamaica a reduction of twenty per cent. upon oranges, lemons, etc. If the Senate ratifies the treaty with France concluded July 24th, 1899, which has since then been waiting for confirmation, the consequences will be serious for Italy. In exchange for the concession of one part of her minimum tariff made to certain American products, France obtained, as stated above, a reduction of duties of between five and twenty per cent. upon 135 categories of French goods. As was shown in my statement to the Italian Chamber of Deputies, France has done a good stroke of business, since, only conceding in exchange a part of her minimum tariff for 25 millions of goods exported from the United States into France (the economy of duties is little more than a million), she obtained for almost 137 millions of French goods sold in the United

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States, an economy of duties of 5,219,294 francs. But this is the least point. Since it refers to French products, of classes which other countries (and, among them, Italy) now send to the United States, and since to these countries the formula of the most-favored-nation treatment does not apply, the convention with France would result in differentiated duties to her great advantage and to the great detriment of other countries. Upon running through the reduced duties obtained by France, in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, the writer indicated several articles of Italian production, which, if Italy were unable to obtain a reduction in the duties upon them by the negotiations at present proceeding, would be little by little excluded from the market of the United States by reason of lower duties upon rival products sent from France. In comestibles, for example, France has obtained the following reductions: Ten per cent. upon preserved vegetables, peas, etc., including mushrooms; ten per cent. upon macaroni; twenty per cent. upon nuts; ten per cent. upon prunes; fifteen per cent. upon olive oil; ten per cent. upon liqueurs, etc., etc.

And in regard to French manufactured products which may compete with those of Italy in the market of the United States, we note, among other things, the following reductions of duties obtained by France: Twenty per cent. upon raw feathers; ten per cent. upon felt hats; ten per cent. upon straw plaits and hats; five per cent. upon artificial flowers; ten per cent. upon wooden furniture; ten per cent. upon paper and manufactures of paper; ten per cent. upon cements and paving-stones; ten per cent. upon gloves; five per cent. upon silk goods, etc.

The decadence of this Italian trade in the United States would inevitably result if the treaty with France were approved, without its benefits being extended to Italy. The same may be said of the orange trade of Jamaica, to which a twenty-per-cent. reduction of duties would be granted to the detriment of the orange trade of Italy!

The United States would be constrained to buy the products indicated above in France and in Jamaica, respectively, on account of the privilege of the lower duty.

In the treaty with France the most-favored-nation clause applies to all further reductions which might be made to other states upon the 135 duties already reduced. And although France has not succeeded in obtaining special reductions upon

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her sparkling wines and the products of her wool industry, she would at least have the pledge of the government of the United States that she would participate in the benefits of any reduction of duties made upon those products to other states.

The Italian Government, as soon as it had received notice of the convention between France and the United States (and this took place very late, about a year after its conclusion!) immediately commenced negotiations based upon the fourth section of the Dingley tariff, with the object of obtaining the same concessions made by the United States to France and Jamaica, and of protecting certain of its exports (marble, cheese, almonds, essences, silk goods, etc.,), which have a more especial importance for Italy.

We shall say more below of these negotiations, which are still going on, and seem as though they would never be concluded! But, meanwhile, what wonder is it that the interested parties in Italy are agitating to demand from the United States an equality of treatment with France and Jamaica? What wonder if sometimes the wish has arisen that, in the event of Italy's being unable to obtain the treatment accorded to France and Jamaica, those treaties might perish forgotten and dishonored in the Committee of the American Senate? M. Cambon, formerly French Ambassador to Washington, has informed me more than once that he considers the Franco-American treaty as a species of advance-guard; if it were to pass the Senate at Washington, others would pass afterwards. This is a very acute observation, and worthy of an eminent statesman. His own labors have been successful; but he must not be surprised if the Italian point of view is different from his own, and if we fear that, where the advance-guard has difficulty in passing, the rest of international trade may be cut off altogether! In a word, our fear is that if France succeeds in passing her treaty by means of the fascination which she always possesses for the United States, to whose independence she contributed, the same Congress may, by a motion or an enactment, oppose an anticipatory barrier against the conclusion of other treaties based upon the fourth section, alleging that the President is henceforth no longer empowered to conclude new ones. And thus Italy would remain the victim of differentiated duties, cut off from the market of the United States.

For international trade, just and equal tariffs are indispen-

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sable; and heavy tariffs are less injurious than differentiated ones. This is easy of comprehension. But what point have the negotiations reached between Italy and the United States? A point which would be the better for a speedy definition, considering the mutual interests at stake.

The special trade between the United States and Italy is displayed in the following table, from which it may be seen that last year (1902) the two sides were more nearly equal, and that the two countries find the same interest in developing their trade:

SPECIAL TRADE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ITALY.

| | Exports from Italy to the United States. | | | Exports from the United States to Italy. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Italian Statistics. | American Statistics. | | Italian Statistics. | American Statistics. | |
| | Italian Lire. | Dollars. | Italian Lire. | Italian Lire. | Dollars. | Italian Lire. |
| 1897.. | 93,045,000 | 20,165,600 | 104,000,000 | 124,886,000 | 21,336,700 | 110,000,000 |
| 1898.. | 107,291,000 | 21,907,100 | 113,000,000 | 166,175,000 | 24,572,100 | 127,000,000 |
| 1899.. | 118,115,000 | 26,459,400 | 137,000,000 | 168,449,000 | 25,763,100 | 133,000,000 |
| 1900.. | 121,411,000 | 27,051,100 | 140,000,000 | 226,316,000 | 36,731,700 | 190,000,000 |
| 1901.. | 139,849,000 | 27,631,200 | 143,000,000 | 234,346,000 | 34,046,200 | 176,000,000 |
| 1902.. | Not yet published. | 33,612,900 | 174,000,000 | —— | 33,135,500 | 172,000,000 |

There can be no doubt as to the advisability of aiding the development of this trade on both sides, and it is necessary to do this by all possible means. The frontier duties should on that account be diminished.

Italy asks of the United States the favored treatment stipulated in the conventions with France and with England for Jamaica; she asks that, for the products indicated in those conventions, any further reduction of duties upon the American tariff should be also extended to Italy; lastly, she asks for the reduction of twenty per cent., if no more is to be obtained, upon the duties registered in the fourth section of the Dingley tariff, upon marbles, cheeses, and certain others of her special products already mentioned above. Upon the other hand, Italy is disposed to make just concessions in her duties upon bacon, sago, agricultural machinery, and the writer of this article would not hesitate to make it also upon American petroleum, with important reductions upon the Italian duty, which now stands at forty-eight lire the quintal, in proportion to the corresponding compensations which Italian goods would obtain in the American market.

In these well-balanced proposals there would be, indeed, the character of equity, the only possible guide in conventions of a similar nature. Italy cannot comprehend why the economical

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Colossus of the United States should hesitate to accept the small amount of goods which she offers; she cannot understand why a nation so powerful should feel the necessity of caution. There is no need for the power to pass from a Republican to a Democratic majority. The Republican party is not obliged to abjure its economic faith, as these matters are settled with an ease which hardly tempers the rigors of the protective system. This was fully comprehended by McKinley of blessed memory. But the United States, by conceding such legitimate satisfaction to the nations of Europe, would not only co-operate with them in a work of civilization, but would do much towards diminishing that feeling of anxiety, of ill-humor and of alarm which they arouse every day more and more by the example of their juvenile strength and exuberance. Why do they not think of the possibility of danger if all the other governments should unite for their common defence against the operation of trusts, by means of export duties, indirectly generated by this harsh protective system? Even the all-powerful should seek to prevent these natural coalitions which interest and desperation suggest to the weaker powers. And when the rule of justice is abandoned in international arrangements, a rule which is attended by mutual advantage, what else remains but resignation or a keen desire to inflict injuries equivalent to or greater than those which have been received?

Now resignation to the expectation that protectionist nations will be eventually converted to Free Trade is a virtue practised as yet only by the English nation, based more upon the intuitive sense of her own advantage than on an abstract regard for the principles of economy. And even in England, as is proved by the threatened policy of reprisals against duties on sugar and the so-called hygienic precautions against the introduction of foreign cattle, they are losing patience. All other nations, with more or less bitterness, do not hesitate to have recourse to economic revenge, to reprisals, to the Babylonian and Biblical law of revenge: "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." This is the principle acted upon by those states which have made the greatest progress in their boasted civilization!

The errors of the strong absolve or excuse those of the weak, and the economic relations of the nations are changing always for the worse upon the slippery incline of protectionism.

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The fact is that the three Americas are all surrounded by fortresses of tariffs, every day becoming more fully armed against the trade of other countries, which would consider it an act of weakness not to follow their example. In fact, in this rage for new tariff duties which has broken out in France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary and Russia, the principal pretexts alleged for such harsh measures are summed up in the American danger.

Upon the one hand, the nations are invited to the Universal Expositions of Chicago, Paris, and St. Louis; the representatives of all religions at Chicago repeat together, with thrilling emotion, the same prayer of "Our Father," chosen with common accord from the Gospel of St. Matthew; and by these mystic paths our minds are raised to the sublime unity of universal brotherhood! In such hours of emotional abandonment the heart-beats of union are sincere, the assurances and oaths of mutual collaboration in the work of civilization exchanged by the nations are real. But it is a strange contradiction that none the less evident is the spectacle of national egoisms which are continually growing greater, of victorious Imperialism, and of isolating tariffs.

It seems almost as if the powers of Good and Evil had become reconciled in our consciences, having agreed to divide between them the hours in the lives of the people, who repeat with all the philosophy of the Preacher: "there is a time to love and a time to kill."

A study of tariffs has drawn us into these philosophical divagations, which lead us farther from our subject than is desirable. It is time to return to sincerity once more, and to put our principles into accordance with our actions. Either let us hold Universal Exhibitions celebrating the olympiads of labor in the peaceful emulations of science and commerce, or let us have the arrogances of Imperialism, tariff reprisals and the brutal victories of might over right.* Both one and the other of these methods have the merit of clearness; what ought not to be tolerated is the equivocacy of the mingling of barbarism and civilization at which we must blush, and which is no longer compatible with the approval of our conscience.

* Considered from this point of view, the German manufacturers of iron and machinery were right in declining the invitation to take part in the Exposition at St. Louis, as long as the American duties stand at 45 or 50 per cent. of the value of metal manufactures.



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If only the United States, as they have the power to do, would summon to the approaching International Exhibition at St. Louis a Great Œcumenical Council of the Nations, with the mission of dictating the new canons of fiscal justice to the world, humanity would make a gigantic stride in the triumphal path of civilization, and from on high would smile the august shades of Christopher Columbus and of George Washington, who bestowed upon the Americas the exalted office of uniting the human races.

And, to return after this flight of fancy to lower levels, the writer addresses himself to the leading powers of the United States that they may consider in what a position they place their friends in Europe.

On April 16th, at the International Congress of Agriculturists at Rome, the writer alone openly opposed the German and Hungarian Agrarians, who demanded a league of European states against the products of the United States, and, if the league of European states were impossible, at least conventions between them as a defence against the United States, in order to impose reciprocity especially in the limits of the treatment of the most-favored nation; he overcame them, since the adjournment of their proposal to the next Congress was a courteous method of burying it. At that time, there passed through his mind the thought of the immense throngs of Italian emigrants, the flower of our Latin blood, to whom the United States offer generous hospitality; and since no American was at the Congress, he ventured to act as the representative of America. It was easy for him to demonstrate the fiscal disagreements of Europe, so embittered by the new tariffs that they offer insuperable difficulties to the conclusion of the treaties of commerce which have now lapsed; he also pointed out the impossibility of nations at variance being in a position to cope with the young giant. And he called upon the objectors to speak of the United States with the admiration inspired by grandeur, with the modesty due to a united and formidable power from the divided peoples of Europe.

He little knew that those who had assumed the greater responsibility in these divisions of the European nations would light-heartedly bring into a peaceful Congress of Agriculturists messages of strife against the greatest nation of the world, which represents the fusion of all other nations, the proof of the moral and material unity of the human race.

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But, with the sincerity of the friend who has given recent proofs of his affection, the writer ventures to say to the ruling classes in the United States of America that, if they persist in schemes of fiscal error and caprice, it will no longer be possible to defend them against the excesses of the evil-disposed, and from the confusions which they prepare may issue at length the miracle of the necessity of certain conventions between the States of Europe—conventions neither desired nor desirable, because the United States are none other than an expansion of the nations of Europe, far-off brethren; and in these matters of international commerce we should aspire towards universal unity, not to set the Continent of Europe against that of America.

Certainly, the United States can twist these accusations in their turn, and show, as was done at the Congress of Rome, that trusts and combinations of values are also European evils; such, too, are the export duties which result from these artifices. We have all sinned and are still sinning, and hence an examination of our fiscal consciences, accompanied by a resolution of mutual repentance, should not be difficult to us. It is certain that all signs in Europe, and inevitably also in the United States, show that without the hyperbolical pretence of passing from the most rigid Protectionism to Free Trade, and without renouncing our own economic autonomies, the time is ripe for the revision of treaties of commerce founded upon principles of reciprocity, on safer and better established doctrines for the treatment of the most-favored nation, and on the agreement to prevent, as far as possible, trusts from degenerating into absolute infernal machines for the sudden abasement of some to the advantage of others. The final result of our civilization and of such stupendous and rapid means of communication as we now enjoy, cannot be merely that the strongest states invent snares in their international trade to their mutual injury, and to the detriment of the weakest. It cannot produce evils so unworthy of the high level of science and of morality to which our civilization has now attained.

LUIGI LUZZATTI.

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# LORD NORTH, THE PRIME MINISTER: A PERSONAL MEMOIR.—II.

BY LORD NORTH.

I BROUGHT my last article to a close at the moment when Lord North, at the call of the King, took the helm which had been abandoned by the Duke of Grafton. Lord North's tendencies were Tory: he came of a Tory family, and he had never attached himself to the interests of any of the Whig houses. In fact, his own rise to power was a triumph of personal merit over that system of patronage which had been for a long time the only path to preferment. The principle of the new Toryism was reliance on the Crown, together with a fervent loyalty and attachment to the person of the King. Tories asserted that the King had a right to choose his Ministers and to control their policy. George III. had been taught that his task in life was to free himself from the leading-strings of the Whig families and to govern as well as rule. To succeed in this, it was required that the nation should accept the principle of the Crown's selecting and influencing the Ministers. The King was not strong enough to impose it of his own will: it was necessary to associate himself with a phase of popular feeling. This opportunity was afforded him by the popularity which Lord North rapidly won for his administration, and George III. was prompt to make use of it. He henceforth superintended all the affairs of Government, and exerted all his influence in the councils of the Ministers to shape their policy and measures in accordance with his own wishes. George III. was an able and conscientious man, but he possessed a narrow, obstinate and bigoted mind. With his people to back him, he regarded the resistance of the American colonies to taxation as rebellion, and was prepared to abdicate his throne and seek refuge in Hanover rather than recognize their independence.

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At a later period, he refused justice to his Roman Catholic subjects, declaring that the grant of Catholic emancipation would be a violation of his coronation oath.

Historians have agreed that to the baneful influence of George III. must be ascribed nearly all the disasters of the time. It is unfortunate for Lord North's reputation that he for so long yielded his better judgment to the King's unbending will, and remained in office to support a policy which is identified with his name, but for which he was not personally responsible. Yet, as has been pointed out, Lord North does not stand alone under this reproach. As Lord Brougham asks, "upon how many other great occasions have other ministers sacrificed their principles, not to the good-natured wish that the King might not be disturbed, but to the more sordid apprehension that their own Government might be broken up and their adversaries displace them if they manfully acted up to their well-known and oftentimes recorded opinions?" The long period of power enjoyed by the younger Pitt was due to the fact that he rested primarily on royal support, and, to preserve it, he abandoned measures which the King objected to.

Lord North at the outset of his administration had to face an opposition of a most violent character, led by Chatham, and supported by such chiefs as Rockingham, Grenville and Temple. He was assailed with every sort of charge both personal and political. Lord Chatham led the cry that he was merely the puppet of Lord Bute. This charge, although always effective at the time, scarcely needs refutation now. In 1768, Bute's son, Lord Mountstuart, wrote that his father authorized him to declare that he had had nothing to do with offices or measures directly or indirectly after 1765. But in this connection I may insert here some interesting remarks on Lord Bute found in a letter of Lord North's, dated 21st October, 1769.

"Lord Bute is extremely ill again. He has totally lost his stomach, and is vastly emaciated. He is so weak that he cannot venture upon another voyage at present in search of health. This is what I learn from a gentleman who visited him yesterday morning. According to this description he must be in a very bad way. Though he has been the cause of many, and the pretence of more, of our late disputes, yet I dare say it will be found that his death, if it should happen, will not produce any alteration in the system of Government, or be attended with any political consequence whatsoever. I am far from saying that sys-

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tems will henceforth be immutable or ministries fixed and immovable, but whatever changes may happen in either, they will for the future arise from causes entirely independent of the sickness or health, life or death, inclinations or aversions, of that noble person or his party."

It was not expected that the Government could live long against the combined attacks of the Whig parties. As Philip Francis afterwards wrote, "North succeeded to what I believe he himself, and every man in the kingdom at that time, thought a forlorn hope." The result was a complete triumph to Lord North. His tact and ability were conspicuous; he commanded a large majority in both Houses; his popularity was steadily increasing in the country, and the Opposition leaders were as eager to oppose one another as to attack the Government. When Parliament assembled in 1771, the Opposition, so formidable the year before, was almost dissolved, and several of its members took office under Lord North, whose administration became firmly installed in power. The King in his letters to Lord North constantly expresses his gratification at the success of the Government, and he soon found an occasion to confer on Lord North a mark of his appreciation of his services. In a letter of 7th June, 1771, he says: "The sincere regard I have for you makes me, though much hurt at the certain loss of so amiable a man as Lord Halifax, yet with pleasure acquaint you that, whenever I receive the account of his death, I shall immediately appoint you Ranger of Bushey Park;" and he adds, "I cannot conclude without assuring you that every opportunity of shewing you the sincere regard I have for you is giving me the greatest pleasure." Two days later, yet another invitation for a far greater honor was received. "I have ordered," wrote the King to Lord North, "on Wednesday seven-night a Chapter of the Garter, when my second son is to have that Order, and the next vacancy, whether of a subject or a foreign prince, I mean to bequeath this Order on you, which I shall do with the greatest pleasure as I never have had any intimation from you that it is an honor you are in the least ambitious of."

At the close of the Session in June, 1772, we read that the affairs were now conducted with more regularity and a greater appearance of concord and firmness than had been hitherto experienced since the first resignation of Mr. Pitt. Nevertheless,

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about this time Lord North reveals his own views of himself and his situation in the following letter:

"Downing Street, May 6th, 1772.

"My Lord,—I ought a long while ago to have returned my thanks for your most kind and affectionate letter, and to have repaid your congratulations in kind; but your letter found me in the midst of the distress and agitation of an approaching Budget, and in a state of mind which made me consider my situation and my office with less comfort, if possible, than I do at other times. If I have once in my life been so happy as to be able to serve my King and my country from the accidental situation in which I stood, it must always be my wish to be released from a station which is too great for my abilities before I have entirely forfeited the little reputation I may have gained, and done more mischief to the Public by my want of knowledge, activity and talents, than I did good to it by preventing the whole frame of administration from falling to pieces in a moment of trouble and danger. These reflexions, which are almost always the uppermost in my thoughts, are certainly most troublesome and uneasy to me in hours of perplexity such as those were in which I received your letter. I have since been deliver'd of my Budget, and having now more leisure and ease of mind, I cannot employ myself better than in acknowledging the repeated marks of your Lordship's goodness and affection towards me.

"I am, My Lord, your most dutiful son,

"NORTH."

In June, 1772, a vacancy having occurred, Lord North was invested with the Order of the Garter, an honor conferred on a member of the House of Commons in only one previous instance, that of Sir Robert Walpole, and of which there have been but two instances since, namely, Lord Castlereagh and Lord Palmerston. As a Knight of the Garter, he practised, we are told, the charity enjoined by the rules of chivalry, by a distribution, every Sunday morning, at the door of his official residence in Downing Street, of broken victuals and five shillings to each of twenty persons assembled by order.

The Government received an important acquisition to their strength from the ranks of the Opposition in the person of Lord Dartmouth, who succeeded Lord Hillsborough as American Secretary of State. He was connected with Lord North by marriage; they had travelled and studied together in their youth and throughout the stormy times of the contest with America he was the chief supporter and right-hand man of Lord North in the Cabinet. It is said of Lord Dartmouth that "no member of the

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Ministry had more upright or candid views, or a more earnest desire to conciliate the Colonies."

Lord North expresses to his father his pleasure at this accession to the Cabinet.

"Bushey Park. August 18th, 1772.

"My Lord,—I feel as your Lordship may well imagine extremely happy in receiving your kind congratulations upon our late accession to the Cabinet. It is a very agreeable conclusion of one of the most foolish and disagreeable transactions that I have met with in the course of my ministerial life. Lord Dartmouth is so considerable in abilities, and so superior to most other men in character and integrity, that I am certain I never gave the King better advice than when I recommended him for his present office. Indeed, I can hardly say I did recommend him. As soon as Lord Hillsborough determined to resign, His Majesty began with mentioning Lord D. to me. The only person whose pardon I ought to ask upon this occasion is Lord D. himself. He is torn from much ease and comfort, and placed in a situation which he will find very bustling, and perhaps sometimes a little vexatious. His talents are, however, more than equal to any business which he is likely to meet with, and if he will but think of himself as well as he deserves, I have no doubt of his surmounting every difficulty with as much comfort as reputation. I wish we could have kept Lord Hillsborough too, and not been obliged to purchase one good man by the loss of another, but I trust we may find an opportunity of recovering him. He certainly left us unwillingly, though at his own request. He was not prompted to his resignation either by love of faction or of repose, but purely by notions of the necessity he was under of resigning which I own I could never see. In short, the whole of the business is difficult to comprehend or explain. The latter I will endeavour to do when I see your Lordship at Wroxton, but as for the former, I will not answer for your being able to do it even after my explanation.

"I am, My Lord, your most dutiful son,

"NORTH."

In 1773, the East India Company being on the verge of bankruptcy, Lord North produced his great plan for regulating the Company's affairs. Among other privileges, they were given the right to export their accumulated stocks of tea to America free of English duties. The main object was to benefit the Company's finances, and it was thought that, as tea could thus be sold cheaper in the Colonies than in England, its cheapness would form an irresistible counteraction to the non-importation covenants. A grave mistake was made; for in America this arrangement with the Company was represented as an insidious attempt to enforce the hated taxation and as a prelude to other imposi-

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tions, and strong measures were taken in all the Colonies to prevent the tea being landed from the Company's ships. Finally, at Boston, the tea was thrown into the sea.

The spirit of lawlessness manifested in Massachusetts had been giving the ministry much concern. In the agitation and conflicts which followed the passing of the Stamp Act, the people of that Colony had been the most turbulent. The news, then, of this attack upon the tea-ships produced great irritation not only in Parliament but also throughout the nation, and, with rebellion in the Colonies and exasperation at home, Lord North was brought face to face with a crisis in American affairs.

As the American war was really but a phase of the great struggle for political freedom entered into by the American Colonies, in order to better understand Lord North's position and determine his responsibility for the disastrous results which followed, I think it well to recapitulate the events which led up to this crisis.

At the close of the French war in 1763, France gave up her possessions in America, and a dangerous neighbor to the thirteen American Colonies was removed. As long as France held Canada, the colonies had to look to the Mother Country for protection; but, this danger gone, England ceased to be necessary to their safety. The immense territories and wealth of the new Continent, the increasing population, the amount of self-government enjoyed, fostered the desire for an independent national life. In England, according to the universal view at the time, Colonies, or Plantations as they were called, were regarded as existing solely for the benefit of the trade of the Mother Country. This limited view gave rise to commercial restrictions which provided a perpetual cause of irritation and dissension. Lecky says: "They (the Colonies) had, however, before the passing of the Stamp Act, one real and genuine grievance, which was already preparing the way to the disruption of the Empire." The colonists were not allowed to sell their produce outside of British dominions, and they were prohibited from importing any goods except direct from England; while every form of colonial manufacture which could compete with the manufactures of England was deliberately crushed. These revenue laws were badly administered, and every means of evasion was practised; but in 1761 the Board of Trade tried to enforce them more strictly in New England. Writs of assistance were issued empowering custom-house officers

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to enter any house at any time to search. This measure aroused a storm of indignation, and James Otis denounced the writs as instruments of slavery. "Then and there," said John Adams, "the trumpet of the Revolution was sounded." Up to this time, the American Colonies had been left, almost in every respect, absolutely to themselves. It was afterwards said by a Treasury Official that "Grenville lost America because he read the American despatches, which none of his predecessors had done." When George Grenville succeeded to power in 1763, he resolved to enforce the navigation laws with unsparing vigor, to establish a portion of the British army permanently in America, and to raise by the Parliamentary taxation of America the money which was necessary for its support. "These measures," says Lecky, "produced the American revolution."

The commercial legislation of Grenville produced distress and discontent in the colonies; and in 1765 the Stamp Act was passed, by which Parliament for the first time imposed internal taxation on the people of America. Franklin called this act the "mother of mischief," and Lecky says: "The Stamp Act, when its ultimate consequences are considered, must be deemed one of the most momentous acts in the history of mankind." At this date, Lord North occupied a seat on the Treasury board, but his connection with the Stamp Act was purely administrative, and as a junior Lord of the Treasury no official responsibility rested on him in regard to a Cabinet measure. News of the passing of the Stamp Act was received with great excitement in the colonies, and the people rose *en masse*. Delegates from nine colonies met at New York and adopted a declaration of rights, asserting that England had no right to tax them without their consent. Stamp distributors were hung or burnt in effigy and compelled by mob violence to resign their posts. The country was on the verge of rebellion, and it was impossible to enforce the Act without war. Parliament had asserted its right, and the colonial assemblies had defiantly denied it, and the honor of England was concerned. On the other hand, the commercial classes, touched in their pockets by the resolve of the Americans not to purchase English goods while the Act was in force, were for repeal; and Pitt rose from a sick bed to justify the resistance of the colonists. Finally, the Stamp Act was repealed, but at the same time its principle was reasserted by the Declaratory Act, which affirmed the right

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of Parliament to make laws binding the colonies in all cases whatsoever. The breach was healed for the moment, but the effects of the agitation remained; and the unfortunate blunder which followed completed the work of the Stamp Act and drove the Americans into rebellion. In 1767, Charles Townshend proposed impost duties on tea, glass, paper, and painters' colors, professing to raise a revenue without internal taxation. This course, we know now, was adopted without the authorization of his colleagues. Lord North was a member of this ministry, although not yet in the Cabinet; and in 1775 he said in his place in Parliament that he had no share in that measure and had never given it any support. Organized riots of a violent description now took place, Boston taking the lead; new importation agreements spread throughout the Colonies; and in the midst of the ferment Townshend died, leaving to Lord North, who succeeded him as Chancellor of the Exchequer, the legacy of his disastrous policy.

An attempt at reconciliation was made by Lord North in 1770, in pursuance of a resolution arrived at in the Cabinet the year before. It was resolved to repeal all the obnoxious taxes except that on tea, which was retained to keep up the right so repeatedly affirmed by Parliament. Lord North had never been an advocate of taxation, but he was strongly of opinion that what he termed the valuable and essential rights of the nation should be preserved. He had, however, hoped that the spirit of revolt would calm down and the exercise of those rights be dispensed with. In his speech in bringing forward his motion, he made this solemn declaration: "Would to God I could see any reason from the subsequent behavior of the Americans to grant them further indulgence, and extend the proposal to the removal of the other duties which it was my intention at that time to do." But from the lawlessness, the terrorism, and the tarring and feathering at Boston and elsewhere, it was scarcely possible, he argued, for the Government to make any further concession. Popular opinion supported Lord North, and it was said that England had sufficiently humiliated herself. But the agitation did not cease, Acts of Parliament were defied, and representatives of the British Government were exposed to the grossest insults. Every mail brought news that New England at least was in a state of virtual rebellion. It is easy, therefore, to understand the feeling in England when the news arrived of the destruction of the tea at Bos-

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ton. The Ministry were supported by the great majority of the English people when they determined to show that England still possessed the power to execute her laws and protect her officers. The Bill closing the Port of Boston was brought in and followed by other coercive measures, all directed against the Colony of Massachusetts to reduce it to obedience. The effect of these stringent measures in inducing all the Colonies to make common cause with Massachusetts is well known. A Congress of twelve Colonies met at Philadelphia and issued a Declaration of Rights. A Committee of Public Safety was organized in Massachusetts to direct resistance, enroll militiamen, and if necessary to conduct hostilities against the English Commandant, who in turn began to fortify Boston. "The die is now cast," wrote the King to Lord North; "the Colonies must either submit or triumph."

In the midst of the excitement produced by the resistance in America, a general election was held which gave an increased majority to Lord North. Both sides were rapidly drifting towards war; but, before blood was actually shed, Lord North made an effort, in February, 1775, towards conciliation. He got into communication with Franklin, and views were exchanged on certain proposals which were submitted by Lord North and Lord Dartmouth for the adjustment of differences, but it was found impossible to agree. Lord North then brought forward in the House of Commons a conciliatory scheme of his own—that, if and as long as any Colony thought fit of its own accord to make such a contribution to the common defence of the Empire, and such a fixed provision for the support of the Civil Government and administration of justice as met the approbation of Parliament, it should be exempted from all Imperial taxation for the purpose of revenue.

Lecky says, in reference to this effort of Lord North's to avert war: "The proposition appears to me to have been a real and considerable step towards conciliation. It was accepted as such by Governor Pownall, who was one of the ablest and most moderate of the defenders of the Colonies in Parliament, and it was recommended to the Americans by Lord Dartmouth in language of much force and evident sincerity." The cold reception accorded to this conciliatory measure in the House by Lord North's followers, and the revolt of his own colleagues in the ministry, who abused him for "betraying the cause," show that Lord North

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acted on his own initiative and responsibility, and he must be credited with having shown a sincere desire for peace.

These proposals reached the Colonies too late to receive proper consideration; for, in the meantime, the affair at Lexington had occurred and war begun in earnest.

Lord North's connection with the American war may be considered in respect of two different periods, of which the surrender of General Burgoyne's army at Saratoga marks the division. At the outset he regarded the war as just because it was imposed on England by the necessity of preserving her sovereignty.

From a question of the regulation of trade had proceeded the resistance of the right of taxation, and out of this sprang in turn an agitation which, the Government had good grounds for believing, had for its aim the complete independence of the Colonies. Lord North had never himself imposed taxation on America; he had found taxation imposed and was not able to abandon it. The Coercive Act appeared necessary because it was evident that a plan of hostility and separation was meditated, but he had looked to pacification by these means, and when they failed he tried conciliatory proposals before the sword was drawn. Further, he had been led to believe by the reports of Government agents in America, including such men as Hutchinson and General Gage, that at the first display of armed force the Colonists would shrink from a serious encounter and soon submit.

The principle upon which Lord North thus entered upon the war was recognized, not only by the most decided majorities in Parliament, but by the voice of the nation. On the other hand, no Minister had ever to contend with so many difficulties—the blunders and incapacity of the military leaders, an Opposition in Parliament more distinguished for talents and personal consequence than ever appeared at one time, the disaffection of the Colonies applauded and encouraged in the House of Commons itself, and the intervention of the King in the conduct and management of the war. In every part of the series of difficulties, whether as mover of new measures or as defender of his Government, Lord North in debate after debate bore the chief burden of the fray, and it has been said that his talents never burned with a brighter lustre.

When the news arrived of General Burgoyne's surrender, in December, 1777, Lord North declared in the House that he was

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sincerely desirous of peace, and was ready to give up his place if by that means peace could be obtained. In a letter to his father he reveals his innermost feelings at this period. Only a short time previously he had suffered from a severe illness, which was aggravated, if not caused, by anxiety and distress of mind.

"Downing Street, August 16th, 1777.

"My Lord,—In the course of ten years' hurry and vexation, I have never been so hurried or so vexed as I have been for these last two or three months. Indeed, I am almost worn out with continual fretting. It may very possibly be that my uneasiness proceeds from my own faults, but the fact is that so long a continuance in a situation which I dislike, and for which I am neither adapted by temper or capacity, has sunk my spirits, weaken'd my understanding, impaired my memory, and fill'd my heart with a kind of uneasiness from which nothing can deliver me but an honourable retreat. I am sorry to say that I do not foresee the moment when that happiness will fall to my lot.

"To this state of mind and to a more than ordinary hurry of business, your Lordship will be so good as to attribute your having waited so long for an answer to your letters, and not to any want of gratitude, duty and respect, and affection, where I am sure I owe them by every tie, and where I trust I have been always ready to pay so just a debt....

"My letter ends rather more pleasantly than it began, thoughts of seeing your Lordship at Wroxton have enlivened me, but my heaviness will, I fear, soon return.

"I am, My Lord, your most dutiful son,

"NORTH."

The effect in the country of the news from Saratoga was to re-kindle the warlike spirit, and large sums were subscribed and new regiments raised by private means. But Lord North announced in the House that after the Christmas holidays he would lay before it a plan for treating with the Americans. His plan appears to have received strong opposition from the King, and Lord North thereupon asked to be relieved from his office, urging upon the King the impracticability of obtaining unconditional submission. The King in reply wrote:

"I should have been greatly hurt at the inclination expressed by you to retire had I not known that, however you may now and then be inclined to despond, yet that you have too much personal affection for me and sense of honour, to allow such a thought to take any hold of your mind."

And he urges him in the same letter not to be in a hurry to produce his plan for restoring tranquillity in North America. In February, 1778, however, Lord North brought in his conciliatory

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bills, which practically granted everything to the Americans except independence. When these passed into law, Lord North suggested to the King the propriety of replacing him by Lord Chatham, with whom the Americans might be better disposed to treat, but the King refused to accept the services of that "perfidious man." On Lord North's writing again, adhering to his purpose of resignation, the King wrote:

"I am grieved at your continually recurring to a subject on which we can never agree. Your letter is personally affectionate to me and shews no sign of personal fear; but, my dear Lord, no consideration in life shall make me stoop to Opposition."

Again the King writes:

"Had you the real duty and affection for my person that I know is deep rooted in your breast, common honesty, and that sense of honour which must reside in the breast of every man born of a noble family, would oblige you at this hour to stand firmly to the aid of him who thinks he deserves the assistance of every honest man."

In another letter he says:

"My dear Lord,—Your now always recurring to a total change of administration obliges me to ask you one clear question. If I will not by your advice take the step I look on as disgraceful to myself and destructive to my country and family, are you resolved, agreeable to the example of the Duke of Grafton, at the hour of danger to desert me?"

Finally, the King feels himself obliged by Lord North's "never quitting the subject" and his "avowed despondency," to ask Lord North to consent to remain in office until the end of the session. Lord North could not refuse this request; but, when the time came, the King continued to meet Lord North's applications to retire with alternate reproaches and passionate entreaties, and this continued, as the King's letters show, until 1780. And Lord North writes to his father:

"I always hated my part, and that aversion increases daily. It is very hard that when a man has no favour to ask but his dismission he is not able to obtain it in two years."

The difficulty was to find a successor. The King writes in June, 1779:

"Before I will even hear of any man's readiness to come into office, I will expect to see it signed under his hand that he is resolved to keep the Empire entire."

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The distress of his royal master, to whom he was personally attached, and from whom he had received many proofs of favor and affection, was too much for the good nature of Lord North to withstand, and he suffered himself to be induced to remain at the post from which the honorable retreat he sought had become more and more difficult to obtain, as France, Spain and Holland joining America in war against England, rendered the situation almost appalling in its danger.

The publication in 1867 of the confidential letters of George III. to Lord North for the first time furnished a full history of Lord North's true position, which had not been understood by his contemporaries or by later historians, and by the aid of this private history the conduct of Lord North at this particular period can be explained if not defended. What Lord North himself suffered, his letters reveal. I find in the last year of his Ministry the following letter to his father:

"Downing Street, April 25th, 1781.

"My Lord,—Lady North has informed you of the gracious intentions of His Majesty towards the Bishop of Worcester upon the death of the Bishop of Winchester, which, I believe, is not far distant. I own I was a little apprehensive of the Bishop of Lichfield and his claims, but the King intends to give him the See of Worcester and to appoint him Clerk of the Closet. We shall not I suppose be very unwilling to give him that part of the spoils of my Lord of Winchester. The King was, indeed, very gracious upon this point. Upon the first mention of the Bishop of Winchester's illness, he did not permit me to say a word in behalf of Brownlow, but recollecting, of his own accord, his former kind intentions, he told me that he destined Worcester for the Bishop of Winchester, if it would be agreeable to him to make the exchange. I ventured to assure his Majesty that the offer would be very acceptable, and hope that I shall not be disavow'd. Indeed, I have not, for a long time, been so well pleased with my situation as I was to-day, if it has contributed to this arrangement. Brownlow comes to the enjoyment of this dignity in the prime of his life, and I hope he will, by God's blessing, enjoy it long. He may be assured that his success has given me great comfort in a station which, for a good while past, has hardly afforded me any other.

"I ought to have been beforehand with your Lordship in my compliments upon your birthday, but, to say the truth, I really did not recollect the day till I was reminded of it by your Lordship's most kind congratulations. I feel deeply your very affectionate expressions, and this additional instance of your constant and unremitting goodness to me, which has been one of my principal supports and comforts through life. Your partiality leads me to think that my conduct has been cred-

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itable to myself and beneficial to the Public. I own I am afraid it has been otherwise, but, if I have not done well in my situation, I can truly say it is a situation which I never sought, and I have been severely punished for all the harm I may have done by the increasing anxiety and uneasiness I have undergone.

"I am, with great respect, My Lord,

"Your most dutiful son,

"NORTH."

The burden of a protracted war against the allied nations was beginning to convince the nation of the necessity of abandoning America; and, after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in October, 1781, the King saw himself forced to submit to the inevitable. In March, 1782, he acknowledged to Lord North that, considering the temper of the Commons, he thought the administration at an end. "Then, sir," said Lord North, "had I better not state the fact at once?" "Well, you may do so," replied the King. Lord North hastened to the House of Commons; and, interrupting a debate, amidst a scene of much excitement, announced the resignation of the Ministry, and in a farewell speech of much dignity and feeling thanked the House for the support, the kindness, and the forbearance which he had so long received from the Commons of England.

A story is told that, in crossing the Lobby on the arm of a friend, he met another of his friends whom he asked to come home and dine that evening. On the latter's pleading a partial engagement, Lord North said: "Come, come, put off your engagement, and have the virtue of saying you dined with a fallen minister on the day of his dismissal."

Owing to the expectation of a long debate, most of the members had sent away their carriages and were waiting in the Housekeeper's room. As Lord North prepared to enter his carriage, which alone was waiting, he turned and said: "I protest, gentlemen, this is the first time in my life I ever derived any personal advantage from being in the secret." Thus he quitted the House in which he had sat for twelve years as the supreme personage.

It is universally allowed that, as an upright public servant, the character of Lord North stands above all suspicion and reproach. At a period when principles were less strict than at present in regard to the prizes of office, the unselfish character of Lord North was proved by the fact that he had derived no pecuniary profit from the situations he held or the patronage he



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commanded. He declared in one of the debates that he came into office a poor man and he would leave it still poorer. One of his letters exemplifies his abstention from opportunities of personal profit. It was the practice at that time to raise money for state purposes by means of lotteries, and it was commonly alleged that Ministers and their friends were allotted tickets which they sold at a large profit. A lady having got Lord Guilford to forward an application on her behalf for some of these tickets, Lord North replied as follows:

"I am sorry I did not receive your application for Lady Francis sooner, but I do assure her that it has not been usual for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give notice of an intended lottery to his friends, and that I had not myself in the last lottery, nor have I in the present, a single ticket. Whether I am doomed to the misery of continuing in my office another year I know not, but if I am I will venture to promise that it shall be as little profitable to me as the two last have been."

The Prime Minister's father being alive during all the time he held office, he received no income from the North estates, his sole private income being derived from property belonging to his wife and a small estate of his own settled on him at the time of his marriage, which were reckoned to have brought in £1500 a year. Affectionate father as he was, Lord Guilford made his son no allowance. Letters show that in the early days he was obliged to have recourse to his father for small sums for election expenses, but it was as a loan and not as a gift that these advances were always made, and they were always scrupulously repaid.

Lord North had seven children, but the youngest died in infancy, leaving him six to maintain and educate; and, while he had no expensive tastes or love of splendor, he was liberal in his hospitality. In 1778, the King bestowed on him the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports; but from this office, though nominally £4000 a year, Lord North at his own request received only £1000, until his resignation, when the King, on granting the Cinque Ports to him for life on his own motion made the salary £4000.

Allusion is often made to Lord North's dozing on the Front Bench, even during violent debates. Whether this was simulated, as in the case of a more recent statesman, or whether the weak over-taxed eyes sought relief under their prominent lids, I cannot say; but, to judge from instances like that in the following story,

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there was not always that unconsciousness which was attributed to him. "Even now," cried a speaker in the midst of an impassioned harangue, "when voices of warning and protestation are raised against him, the noble lord is asleep." "I wish to God I was," ejaculated Lord North.

Lady Charlotte Lindsay, the Prime Minister's youngest daughter, has left on record her impressions of her father's style of conversation and character in private life.

"His wit was of the most genuine playful kind; he related remarkably well, and liked conversing upon literary subjects; yet, so completely were all these ingredients mixed and amalgamated by good taste that you would never have described him as a sayer of *bons mots*, or a teller of good stories, or as a man of literature, but as a most agreeable member of society, and truly delightful companion. His manners were those of a high-bred gentleman, particularly easy and natural; indeed, good breeding was so marked a part of his character that it would have been affectation in him to have been otherwise than well-bred."

His letters to his father rarely omit a reference to his children, their well-being and progress. For instance, in one of them:

"The only promotions I have heard of since my last are Mr. Nugent created Viscount Clare in the Kingdom of Ireland, and Mr. George North advanced to the second form. The latter writes me word that he thinks he will do very well there."

Another suggests games and romps indulged in by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"Downing Street, May 30th, 1769.

"I was at Eton between five and six o'clock in the afternoon and found all the company in health and spirits. The boys were very merry and noisy as usual. They had expected me on Wednesday last, but that day being over without any news of me they had despaired of seeing me, and my visit was a great surprise to them all. I have had the satisfaction to-day of finding my family in London full as well, full as merry, and almost as noisy as the boys at Eton."

Lady Charlotte Lindsay continues:

"I think that he had really more enjoyment when he went into the country on a Saturday or Sunday, with only his own family or one or two intimate friends; he then entered into all the jokes and fun of his children, was the companion and intimate friend of his elder sons and daughters, and the merry entertaining playfellow of his little girl who was five years younger than any of the others."

Lord North did not long continue out of office. After his defeat he still had a personal following of 160 to 170 in the

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House of Commons, and in March, 1783, the King sent for him at night and pressed him to be again Prime Minister, but he refused. When the famous Coalition Ministry was formed subsequently, Lord North had as colleagues Fox and Burke, the two most eloquent assailants of his former Ministry, who by taking office with him paid a tribute of justice to his personal character.

To have won the friendship and admiration of such men as Fox and Burke, in spite of their condemnation of his policy, is an achievement which alone stamps the personal character of Lord North with the mark of superior worth. When we remember that at a later period, owing to a political difference, the sensitive spirit of Burke constrained him to break off all friendly relations with Fox, it is particularly gratifying that both should have been united in their esteem for Lord North.

In the year 1787, Lord North's sight began to fail him, and he soon after became totally blind. This calamity he bore with admirable patience and resignation.

His daughters read to him, wrote his letters, led him in walks and were his constant companions. In the evenings, his house in Grosvenor Square was the resort of the best company London afforded at that time, and many of his old colleagues and political opponents, such as Fox, Burke, Sheridan and Erskine, formed part of the cheerful and distinguished company which brightened his declining days.

Walpole gives us this picture during a visit to Bushey in 1787:

"I never saw a more interesting scene, and Lord North's spirit, good humour, wit, sense, drollery, are as perfect as ever; the unremitting attention of Lady North and her children is most touching. If ever loss of sight could be compensated, it is by so affectionate a family."

Gibbon, when bringing out a new volume of his great work in 1788, wrote in the preface this beautiful tribute:

"Were I ambitious of any other patron than the public, I would inscribe this book to a Statesman who, in a long, a stormy, and, at length, an unfortunate administration, had many political opponents, almost without a personal enemy; who had retained, in his fall from power, many faithful and disinterested friends; and who, under the pressure of severe infirmity, enjoys the lively vigour of his mind, and the felicity of his incomparable temper."

In spite of his blindness, he took an important part in the debates on the Regency Bill in 1789, and in the next year, on the

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death of his father, he succeeded to the title of Earl of Guilford, and took his seat in the House of Lords. He spoke in that Chamber on four occasions, but his last years were spent in retirement with his wife and family.

Lord North did not long survive his father. In 1792 his health declined and symptoms of dropsy appeared. When at last his physician was obliged to inform him that his days were numbered, we are informed that he received this news not only with firmness and pious resignation, but that the serenity and cheerfulness of his manners were in no way altered. The first step he took when aware of his immediate danger was to desire that Mr. John Robinson and Lord Auckland (formerly Mr. Eden) might be sent for; they being the only two of his political friends whose desertion had hurt and offended him, he wished before his death to shake hands cordially and to forgive them. They attended the summons, of course, and the reconciliation was effected. He died on the 5th of August, 1792, and was buried in the family vault in the Church at Wroxton, where a monument by Flaxman is erected to his memory.

I will repeat, in conclusion, two estimates of Lord North which have been recorded; one by his daughter, Lady Charlotte, and the other by his great opponent, Edmund Burke. Lady Charlotte Lindsay says, speaking of her father:

"His character in private life was, I believe, as faultless as that of any human being can be: those actions of his public life which appear to have been the most questionable proceeded, I am entirely convinced, from what one must own was a weakness, though not an unamiable one, and which followed him through his life, the want of power to resist the influence of those he loved."

Burke sums up his character thus:

"He was a man of admirable parts, of general knowledge, of a versatile understanding, fitted for every sort of business, of infinite wit and pleasantry, of a delightful temper, and with a mind most disinterested. But it would be only to degrade myself by a weak adulation, and not to honour the memory of a great man, to deny that he wanted something of the vigilance and spirit of command which the times required."

NORTH.

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# THE MILITIA ACT OF 1903.

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JAMES PARKER, U.S.A., ACTING ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL.

ON January 21st, 1903, there was passed by Congress and approved by the President a law which, by adding greatly to the defensive power of the Republic, is destined to have a far-reaching effect on the future of the United States. By this law the National Government gains certain advantages which may be briefly summarized as follows:

*First:* A great improvement in the efficiency of the National Guard, which will result as a consequence of governmental supervision and aid, better arms and equipment, and more thorough training;

*Second:* The placing of the National Guard, in an emergency, at the disposal of the general Government, whereby the President, in time of war, will be able to muster the whole of that force into the United States service, at twenty-four hours' notice, if necessary, to serve until the Volunteers are ready to take the field;

*Third:* The formation of a Corps of Reserve Officers, derived from sources outside of the Regular Army, but tested by examinations prescribed by the War Department, whose function in time of war will be to command our Volunteers.

I propose to state briefly the provisions of this Act.

The first section reiterates the law of 1793, that the militia shall consist of every able-bodied citizen between eighteen and forty-five, and divides the militia into two classes—the organized militia or National Guard, and the unorganized or reserve militia.

The third section defines the "organized militia" as the regularly enlisted, organized, and uniformed militia which shall hereafter participate in the annual militia appropriation (heretofore only one million a year). It gives the President authority to fix the minimum number of enlisted men in each company.

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The fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh sections give the President authority, in case of invasion by a foreign power, rebellion, or when the laws of the Union cannot be executed with the other forces at his command, to call out "the militia" in such numbers as may be necessary.* He may specify the period of service, not exceeding nine months; and any officer or enlisted man who fails to present himself to the United States mustering officer, when so called out, may be court-martialled.

The thirteenth section provides for a free issue to the States of the new magazine rifles, carbines, and belts, in place of the old Springfield rifles, and for an exchange of ammunition.

The fourteenth section gives authority to the States to use a portion of the annual militia appropriation for the purpose of paying the National Guard while in camp.

The fifteenth and twenty-first sections provide that, whenever the National Guard and Regular Army shall have combined manœuvres, the pay, subsistence, and transportation of the militia will come out of the Army appropriation, and not out of the militia appropriation. The militia will on such occasions also obtain ammunition for target practice without charge.

The eighteenth section provides that each State shall require every organization "not excused by the Governor" to have, during the calendar year, twenty-four drills and five days' field instruction, on penalty of forfeiture of the annual allotment of the State.

The nineteenth and twentieth sections provide for the detail of Army officers, to report to the Governor for duty with the militia.

The twenty-third section provides that any person who has served in the Regular Army or Volunteers or National Guard, or who has received instruction in military schools or colleges to which Army officers are detailed as instructors, is authorized to apply to the Secretary of War for a certificate that he is qualified as an officer of Volunteers; and that, on passing a stringent examination by an Army board, he shall be listed as such.

The sixteenth and twenty-third sections provide for the military instruction, at the United States Army Schools, of officers thus qualified for Volunteer commissions, or of officers of the National Guard, quarters and subsistence to be furnished by the United States.

* The reserve militia may also be called out under this authority.

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Such are the main features of the Militia Act of 1903. While the execution of the law has been somewhat delayed, owing to the fact that a certain length of time was necessary to study and interpret its provisions, much has been accomplished already in carrying it into effect.

An inspection is now being made by Army officers to determine, in each State, the strength and efficiency of the militia. As there are, in the National Guard of 118,000 men and officers, over 2,300 companies, stationed in 1196 different towns, it may be readily understood that this inspection is a large undertaking. As soon as the reports from a State come in, showing the number of qualified militia, the necessary number of the new magazine guns and equipments are, upon the requisition of the Governor, shipped to replace the old arms. The War Department has definitely announced its intention, in future, to arm the National Guard with the best and latest arms and equipments. Congress has also appropriated, in the Army Appropriation Bill, $2,000,000 for the purchase of equipments and supplies sufficient to fully arm and equip all branches of the National Guard with the same arms and equipments as are used by the Army. Out of this sum will be obtained a new equipment of field-artillery, of the latest rapid-fire design.

The question of the pattern of uniform to be worn by the National Guard is a matter which, until acted upon by Congress, lies in the hands of the States. Accordingly, some of the States have adopted for their militia the uniform worn by the United States Army. This is not altogether relished by some of the regular soldiers, who would naturally prefer to preserve their identity. In view of the fact that the different corps in all services wear distinguishing marks, colors, or stripes, it is to be hoped that the States will agree upon some similar method of marking the distinction between the regular and the civilian soldier. The wearing of a broad stripe upon the arm has been suggested in this connection.

A uniform system of target practice, suited to the new arm and to the special needs of the National Guard, has been adopted. Under it reports will be published yearly at the Headquarters of the Army, showing the relative proficiency of the States. The States are arranging to comply faithfully with the requirement that, each year, every organization shall have at least twenty-four

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drills and five days' field service. Many of the States are desirous that the system of combined manœuvres, in which both the Regular Army and the organized militia are to take part, shall be inaugurated this year, 1903, and the question of having such manœuvres at Chickamauga, Georgia, Louisville, Kentucky, Fort Riley, Kansas, Fort Russell, Wyoming, and American Lake, near Tacoma, Washington, is now being considered. Most of the States are changing their laws so as to adopt the organization, uniform, regulations, system of reports, etc., of the Regular Army.

In general, the attitude of the States toward the new law is one of enthusiastic approval, as being a measure which will strengthen and protect the Republic, and which therefore deserves the support of patriotic men. The members of the National Guard have announced to the Inspectors, almost universally, that they are ready and anxious to serve the United States, whenever the call is made. In many States and Territories, the extra appropriations of this year have afforded an opportunity to greatly improve the equipment of the National Guard, as well as to increase the number of organizations and of men.

While, owing to lack of time and facilities, it has been impossible as yet to carry into effect those sections of the law providing for the instruction of officers of the National Guard at the Service Schools at Fort Leavenworth and elsewhere, or for the examination of candidates for the eligible list of Volunteer officers, these matters are now under consideration by the General Staff; and in due time rules will be formulated for carrying into effect these most valuable provisions. And it is expected that under them a great advance will be made in the theoretical as well as practical instruction of our National Guard officers. It is believed that many young men who would not otherwise enter the National Guard will now do so, in order to obtain the training that will qualify them to compete for places on the War Department Roll of eligible Volunteer officers. A new and valuable element will thus enter the ranks, raising the standard of the personnel; and it is probable that in certain organizations, such as crack troops of cavalry, the theoretical instruction, in the hands of good commanders, will assume such proportions that such organizations will become, in fact, schools for officers. Thus we may expect a great increase in the number of élite regiments, companies, and troops of the National Guard.

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The disposition to be made in time of war of this reserve corps of officers is a problem which may well evoke mature consideration. Where is the Government to place these Volunteer officers who have qualified themselves for commissions? Surely they will be used to officer United States Volunteer regiments, like those which did such magnificent work in the Philippines. For the State Volunteer regiments they are not available, since the appointment of officers of a State regiment lies in the hands of the Governor. And it is safe to presume that, in case of any future war, the United States will repeat, perhaps, on a larger scale, the plan of raising a contingent of *United States* Volunteers, the field officers to be largely drawn from the Regular Army, the lower grades from the officers of the Volunteer reserve. Such regiments, like the United States Volunteers of 1899, will be brought into shape in much less time than that consumed by the State Volunteer regiments. It is to be hoped, in such an event, the transfer of Regular officers to the Volunteers will leave vacancies which will be filled by their juniors, thus benefiting promotion in the regular army.

Now that we have a General Staff, charged with questions of future policy, it is probable that plans for the raising, organizing, equipping, and drilling of Volunteers will be worked out in detail, so that in no future war will arise such confusion as in 1898. In such plans, the corps of eligible Volunteer officers created by the Militia Act will occupy an important place.

In connection with the Militia Act, Congress has wisely passed a law for the detail, with full pay and allowances, of twenty retired officers as assistants in the instruction of the National Guard of the States. It is to be hoped this number will be so increased shortly as to permit of assigning one to each State and Territory. The increased pay which this duty brings will make it possible to select for this purpose from the ranks of the retired officers of the United States Army the very best material—officers of rank, experience, and efficiency. It often happens that the operation of the law retiring officers at the age of sixty-four places on the shelf men who are in the possession of their ripest powers. The retired list contains many Brigadiers-General and Colonels and other high ranking officers, who will bring to this task dignity, experience, and talent, and who will command the respect and admiration of the organized militia. It is to be expected that the

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functions of these officers will combine those of instructor and inspector of militia, and also of the confidential servant and adviser of both the Governor and the War Department.

The question of the minimum strength of companies of the organized militia presents some difficulties that as yet have prevented a satisfactory conclusion. It is, of course, desirable that the companies should not be too small; for otherwise the force lacks efficiency, and the organization is top-heavy and unduly expensive. It would be desirable that the minimum enlisted strength of the companies should be placed at the figure adopted, in peace, in the United States Army, sixty-five. But, while it may be easy to keep companies at this figure in large towns, in the smaller towns it is not, and the exclusion from the benefits of the militia appropriation of companies of less than sixty-five would disband many companies in localities where they are for local reasons needed by the States or Territories. It would also make the maintenance of a sufficient force of militia a difficult matter in some of our more sparsely inhabited States and Territories. This question will be perhaps settled by fixing a different standard for such communities.

Another difficult question is that of the physical examination that shall be required of the militia recruit. It is important, in case of the muster of the organized militia into the service of the United States, that the men thus mustered in shall be physically fit; otherwise the pension list will be unduly increased. But the United States cannot always in time of war wait until a physical examination is made of all the men before they shall be mustered in. Wars sometimes come suddenly and the troops may be needed at once. The medical examination of National Guard regiments in 1898 took, in some cases, two weeks. It would, therefore, be desirable that the National Guard should be composed only of men who have passed at entrance a physical examination akin to that of the Regular Army recruit. It is hoped that the States will see the necessity of carrying this rule into effect. In any case, it will probably be necessary, after muster into the United States service, that a physical examination be made by United States Surgeons, in order that all unsound men may be noted, and the pension lists thus protected.

Closely connected with the improvement of the National Guard is the question of the purchase by the general Government of

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camp sites for combined manœuvres of the National Guard and Regulars, and of the purchase of rifle ranges. In 1901, Congress authorized the President to investigate the question of sites for the combined instruction of the Army and the National Guard, with a view of selecting and purchasing four. The essential features of such sites are that they should be in a central location, five or six miles square, with good transportation facilities, terrain suitable for movement of all arms, good water supply, with facilities for proper disposal of sewage, sandy, easily drained soil, and good locations for camps and rifle ranges. As, in order to carry out the ordinary regimental manœuvre of the advance to the attack, a field having a length of at least 4,000 yards is required in these days of long-range arms, it may be seen how necessary such tracts are to the instruction of the Regular Army, not to speak of the National Guard. Our laws do not permit us to tramp uninvited over the farmer's fields, as they do in Europe; hence, like England, which has its Aldershot camp site, we must have tracts set apart for the purpose. It is to be hoped that we will shortly see the acquirement by the Government of several such tracts and the carrying out of manœuvres by the Army and National Guard on a large scale. The main difficulty is the expense. It is difficult for the Government to buy, in the more thickly settled States, land suitable for the purpose, in tracts of 20,000 to 30,000 acres, for less than $50 to $100 an acre.

Rifle ranges also are needed, not only for the National Guard, but also for the citizen population. To shoot well is a large part of the education of the soldier; and if the Government can arouse such an interest in shooting, in not only the organized but also the unorganized militia, that our male population shall be familiar with the accurate use of the rifle, we shall have gone far towards evening up the advantage the foreigner gains by his universal conscription. Much can be accomplished in this direction, if the United States will offer free the use of the military rifle on ranges to be established near our large towns. Such ranges would also be available for the instruction of the National Guard. Their cost would be little in comparison with the benefits to be obtained. The cost of sufficient target ranges and camp sites for the whole country will hardly exceed that of one or two new battle-ships.

To complete the intention of the law, legislation would seem to be required providing that the cost of maintenance of the horses

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of mounted officers and of cavalry troopers shall be defrayed by the United States, during encampments or field instruction. Another amendment in the law ardently desired by the National Guard, is a provision for a *per diem* allowance to men and officers attending the twenty-four drills a year required by the Act. The average militiaman, even though the sacrifice made may be considerable, receives no compensation for his services, except when in camp. It often happens that, in order to attend drills, the enlisted man has to travel a considerable distance, pay railroad fare, and sometimes in addition he is docked for wages on account of missing night work. Because of these and similar obstacles, in some communities it is difficult to obtain recruits of the stamp desired, and the militia service languishes. A much better state of discipline could be maintained if the services of these soldiers were not wholly gratuitous; and an allowance, say of one day's Regular Army pay for a private soldier (about 40 cents) per drill of two hours (coupled with a considerable fine for non-attendance) would add much to the efficiency of the National Guard. When to this it is objected that such an expenditure would add largely to the cost of the National Guard, the reply is made that the United States may well afford an extra ten dollars or so per man per year. For the object of all military training is to produce a soldier for the emergency of war. Under this bill, the National Guardsman becomes at the outbreak of war virtually a United States soldier, having cost the Government annually about ten dollars, as against an annual outlay of five hundred dollars for each regular soldier. Surely, we can afford to spend a few extra dollars per man to make the National Guardsman a more efficient soldier in preparation for the time when every soldier is needed.

There seems to be an impression in some quarters that this Militia Act of 1903 weakens the power of the States over the militia, and is in some respects an attack on State sovereignty. Nothing could be farther from the facts. The bill is carefully drawn to preserve the authority of the Governors over their own troops, by "reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress."* In time of peace, the National Guard of each State is thoroughly a State force, made more efficient for that purpose than ever before by

* See Constitution of the United States, Article 1.

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the aid of the general Government. In time of war, the National Guard may be called into the United States service by the President, but this right is a constitutional right under the authority given Congress "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, to suppress insurrections and repel invasion."* The laws passed under this provision, by Congress, have from the earliest days of the Republic made every citizen of military age, whether in the organized militia or not, subject to military duty whenever called out by the United States. But, while the Militia Act of 1903 more clearly defines the rights and duties of the United States than before, and the organized militia must in future be ready to turn out at a moment's notice in case of war, there no longer seems to be the danger that (as was done in 1898) the militia regiments will be converted into United States Volunteer Regiments. The soldier who joins the National Guard now does so with the assurance that, in case of war, he will not be obliged to volunteer for a long period, but that, after a few weeks or months of service, the regiment will be returned again to the State from which it was borrowed.

The paramount value of the law of 1903 is that its passage enables us now, for the first time, to evolve a competent system of defence. In case of a great war, our principal reliance has always been, and will always be, on our Volunteer troops. But it takes time to raise, organize, clothe, and drill the Volunteers, and during this period of preparation we should, with only our small Regular Army ready for defence, be at the mercy of a powerful predatory enemy. But, under this law, the militia, supporting the Regulars, stand ready to save the country from the humiliation that is sure to overtake in modern wars a nation wholly unprepared. Under this law, the President is able to muster into the service of the United States, at once, and without the long delay made necessary in the case of the Volunteers, the whole National Guard, of 150,000 men, in brigades, regiments, and battalions, as they stand, fully armed and equipped, mobilized and ready for active service at six hours' notice, and ship them to the seaboard, or wherever they may be needed for the defence of the country. That the time will come when they will be needed cannot be doubted. The United States, a nation of nearly a hundred million people, is determined to exercise its legitimate influence in the

* See Constitution of the United States. Article 1, Section VIII.

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world's affairs. It cannot, with the blood of the American in its veins, adopt a Chinese policy of exclusion and isolation. And so war is foreordained. But we must remember that modern wars are not always preceded by a declaration of war and that the first notice of hostilities may be the landing of an Army on our shores, the sacking or burning of our sea-coast towns. What we shall want in such an emergency is a first line of fairly well-trained troops, who will form a solid bulwark behind which our Volunteers may be got ready. This bulwark we are going to find in the Regular Army and the National Guard; well-trained men, good shots, accustomed to field service, proud of their record and of their organizations.

With such a line of defence protecting the country on the first outbreak of war, we shall be able to contemplate with more equanimity the possibility of being forced into war with a Power of the first order. It is to be expected that this eventuality will be taken into account by our new General Staff; that they will draw up in preparation for war a complete plan for the formation of these Volunteers who are to relieve the militia; decide where the regiments shall be raised and who shall be their officers; arrange for their prompt equipment and have all kinds of supplies stored near the places of mobilization—ammunition for their training, books and papers for their returns and records, tents for their encampments—so that there shall be no confusion, no disorder.

Enough has been said to demonstrate the importance of this measure to the country at large. As time goes on, its beneficent effects will be more and more evident, its scope made more far-reaching. The country owes a debt of gratitude to General Charles Dick, Member of Congress from Ohio, to the Honorable Elihu Root, Secretary of War, and others, to whose persistent efforts the passage of this law is due. For, in a peace-loving nation, any measure that prepares for war tends to prevent war, since it tends to prevent aggression.

JAMES PARKER.

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# OUR SECOND LINE—THE NATIONAL GUARD.

BY JOHN J. ESCH.

We claim to be the most progressive nation on earth, and yet, if we were judged by the laws on our statute books relating to military affairs, we would be considered one hundred years behind the times. A few instances will make good this statement.

From 1812 to 1900 there was a federal statute providing that all honorably discharged officers and men should be allowed one day's pay, according to their rank, for every twenty miles of travel from the place of discharge to the place of original muster. In other words, a colonel, for each one thousand miles of travel, was entitled to receive from the Government $486.12, although the time consumed under modern systems of travel would not exceed one day. Such a law, when twenty miles constituted a day's journey, was reasonable and just; but in these days of rapid transit it would be a source of rank extravagance.

A study of the militia laws of the United States furnishes still more glaring examples of the fact that we have not been up to date. The Act of May 8, 1792, organizing the militia, however much it may have been violated in both letter and spirit, was nevertheless up to January 21, 1903, the law. By its terms, every captain was to enroll within the bounds of his company every able-bodied male citizen between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, who, upon notice of such enlistment, was to provide himself "with a good musket or firelock of a bore sufficient for balls of the eighteenth part of a pound, a sufficient bayonet and belt, two spare flints, and a knapsack, and pouch with a box therein to contain not less than twenty-four cartridges suited to the bore of his musket or firelock, each cartridge to contain a proper quantity of powder and ball; or with a good rifle, knapsack, shot-pouch and powder-horn, twenty balls suited to the bore

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of his rifle, and a quarter of a pound of powder." Each commissioned officer was to arm himself with "a sword or hanger and spontoon." As though this were not a sufficiently formidable array, our forefathers provided that each company of artillery should have "six bombardiers" and that its officers should be armed "with a sword or hanger, a fusee, bayonet, and belt, with a cartridge-box to contain twelve cartridges." The commanding officers of each troop of horse were to "furnish themselves with good horses of at least fourteen hands and one-half high, and be armed with a sword and a pair of pistols, the holsters to be covered with bearskin caps"; while each dragoon, besides the ordinary accoutrements, was to provide himself with a mail pillion, valise, breast-plate and crupper."

It is, perhaps, safe to say that not one guardsman in a thousand can describe the weapons and accoutrements which, under the law of 1792, he was obliged to furnish at his own expense. So obsolete were some of these weapons and accoutrements that no definitions thereof can be found in modern lexicons or encyclopædias. Nothing can better bring to mind the primitive nature of the weapons provided by this old law than the following description of a "firelock" taken from Rees's Cyclopædia:

"Firelock, in strictness applies to every species of firearms, which are discharged by means of locks containing springs, etc., that impel a flint fixed in a species of vise, at the head of that part called the cock, against a curved steel-plate called the hammer, so as to produce from this collision sufficient fire, in the form of sparks, or scintillations, which, being by the action of the device directed into a hollow called the pan, before covered by the hammer, cause the gunpowder deposited in that hollow, and which is called the priming (it being the first portion of that combustible to be ignited), to take fire, and of course by means of the touch-hole, which opens into the pan, to explode the charge that is rammed into the bottom of the barrel."

From Farrow's Military Encyclopædia it is learned that a "spontoon" was a weapon bearing resemblance to a halberd, which, prior to 1789, was borne instead of a half-pike by officers of the British infantry. It was a medium for signalling orders to the regiment. The spontoon planted in the ground commanded a halt; pointed backward or forward, advance or retreat, and so on. The ungraceful and grotesque shape of the weapon points out very accurately the time of its invention—the period of wigs and three-cornered hats.



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With hanger and spontoon, mail pillion and breast-plate, and holsters covered with bear-skin caps, an officer of our ancient militia must have made "a picture no artist could paint."

It is true that some amendments have been made to this old law from time to time; but the fact that so much of it remains relating to obsolete arms and accoutrements indicates a highly conservative or non-progressive spirit on our part, or a deeply rooted prejudice against a military establishment. Prejudice against a large standing army always has existed, and no doubt always will exist; but of late there has been a growing sentiment, induced doubtless by our experiences in our recent war with Spain, that no arms, supplies, or equipments, can be too good for the officers and men who, under trying circumstances and under great difficulties, are maintaining the dignity of our Government and the honor of our flag both at home and abroad.

The exactions and despotism of large standing armies prejudiced our forefathers against permanent military establishments; and, from the days of Concord and Lexington, the "minute men" have been the ideal soldiers of the Republic. They constituted the citizen soldiery, which, in all the great emergencies of our country, have borne the brunt of war.

Whether as militia, volunteers, or national guards, this citizen soldiery has received, so far as the several States are concerned, more or less encouragement as manifested in their militia laws. It has been the subject of constant appeals from almost every President. Washington, in his message of 1790, declared that "a free people ought not only to be armed, but disciplined, to which end a uniform and well-digested plan is requisite"; and again, in 1791, that "the militia is certainly an object of primary importance, whether viewed in reference to the national security, to the satisfaction of the community, or to the preservation of order." Succeeding Presidents endorsed the maintenance and improvement of the militia, as "an emergency force," as "the best security for a free people," as "the great bulwark of the public safety," permitting us to "at once enjoy the repose of peace, and bid defiance to foreign aggression."

Notwithstanding the appeals and recommendations of the Presidents and the authority granted Congress by the Constitution "to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia," few changes in the obsolete law of 1792 were made, and

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the only support granted by Congress for almost eighty years was an annual appropriation of $200,000, which was increased in 1887 to $400,000, and in 1900 to $1,000,000.

After each of our wars, the militia having played a greater or less part therein, a temporary increase in the military spirit was manifested. The War of 1812 did not redound to the credit of the militia of that day, as the unfortunate controversy between several of the States and the general Government over the question of officers' commissions, and the Hartford Convention arising therefrom, cast a shadow over the service for a time.

The Mexican War, our standing army being small, was largely fought and won by militia regiments from the Southern and Western States enlisting as volunteers.

It was not until the Civil War that our people were made to realize the benefits of a well-regulated militia, and to regret the fact that more support and attention had not been given to it, not only by Congress, but by the Legislatures of the several States. The militia and National Guard of the North were practically exhausted by Lincoln's first call for 75,000 men; and, to fill the calls for subsequent thousands, men were enlisted who had had no previous training in the school of the soldier. We had no reserve that could make any pretension to military experience. There was no second line of sufficient size, strength, and organization worthy of the name. The same condition of affairs obtained in the South. For the first call for 75,000 men, some of the older States, like Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, furnished regiments as well drilled and equipped as regular troops; and these regiments, by reason of their superior training, furnished hundreds of officers of every rank and grade to other commands. Had there been a second line of 150,000 or 200,000 men as well drilled, equipped, and organized as these few regiments, the story of the Rebellion might have been told in one chapter instead of a dozen.

The terrible experiences of the Rebellion were, nevertheless, insufficient to impel Congress to bring about a reform or reorganization of the militia. Barring a few minor amendments enacted in 1861 and 1862, the Act of 1792 seemed to have been as immutable as the law of the Medes and Persians. This apathy on the part of the general Government did not characterize the several States. Many of these, through their Legislatures, ignoring and

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expressly violating the Act of 1792, revised their militia codes or adopted new ones to bring the service abreast of the military science of the day, and maintained and increased the efficiency of their militia by liberal appropriations.

We have a still more recent illustration of the weakness of our second line in the Spanish-American War. At the outbreak of that war, the organized militia or National Guard of the United States was nominally 114,000 men. Upon a call for volunteers, the President assumed that a force of at least 100,000 men would report at the several camps of rendezvous fully armed, equipped, drilled, and ready for service. The men volunteered and reported promptly, and manifested that spirit of loyalty which has always characterized Americans when the call to duty sounded; but it was found that the arms and equipments were in many instances old and valueless; that the uniforms in many cases were not up to the standard—in fact, many of the men in some regiments appeared in civilian dress without arms or equipments of any kind; and that both officers and men in many instances had little or no military training or experience.

It was further found at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War that the cavalry and artillery arms of the militia or National Guard were disproportionately small. Twenty of the States had no cavalry organizations; thirteen no artillery organizations; while in ten of the States no examinations were required for commissioned officers. This lack of cavalry and artillery organizations in the National Guard or militia is accounted for by the heavy cost of maintenance, and yet these are the two arms of the service which require the longest training. As it is at present, in case of war we would have to rely upon the cavalry and artillery of the regular army. While these two arms of the service have been somewhat increased by the Army Reorganization Act of 1900, they would be quite inadequate and out of proportion in the event of war; so that, for a proper development of our second line, greater attention must be given in the future to these two arms of the service in the National Guard.

The volunteer regiments of the Spanish-American War, notwithstanding a lack of drill and experience in many regiments, rapidly developed into a splendid body of soldiery, and nobly acquitted themselves of every task imposed. When it is remembered that the general Government at the outbreak of that war

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appropriated only $400,000 for the support of the militia of all the States, it must be acknowledged that it got a very good return for its investment. The several States expended annually almost seven times as much as the general Government in supporting the National Guard, and some States, like New York and Pennsylvania, appropriated more money annually for their respective National Guards than the Government appropriated for the National Guard of the entire country. So far as financial support is concerned, Congress has in a large measure atoned for its past neglect by raising the annual appropriation since 1900 to $1,000,000. This sum, with a much larger total appropriation made by the States, ought soon to fully clothe and equip the entire National Guard of the country.

However, something more is needed than mere equipment. The Spanish-American War disclosed the fact that uniformity, coherency, and efficiency are still lacking. These could only be secured by a wise and thorough revision of the federal laws relating to the militia. Such revision has been made and incorporated in the so-called Dick bill recently passed by Congress and signed by the President on the 21st of January. This bill is the result of much careful study, and has received the endorsement of the leading officers of the National Guard of almost all the States. In the words of Secretary Root, this bill makes the following reasonable and proper provisions:

"(1) For the ordinary training and discipline of the militia as a force belonging, in time of peace, to the several States; (2) for its special employment by the general Government as a part of the constitutional military forces in time of war or public danger, such use being made the subject of special statutory limitations in respect to time, place, and occasion of its employment; (3) for its acceptance by the United States, in the form of complete organizations, as a part of any volunteer forces that may be authorized to be raised and embodied in the event of war; and (4) for the volunteer service of its individual members, with preferential rights of appointment and enlistment, in any volunteer forces that may be authorized by Congress, in an emergency of war, in excess of or in addition to the organizations of the militia which may tender their services as such, under the authority of their respective States."

In the attainment of uniformity in organization, armament, discipline, and instruction the regular army is to serve as standard and guide. The gay and heterogeneous uniforms of the

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guards of the different States, and even of the same State, are to give way to the plain but serviceable fatigue and dress uniforms of the regulars; the Springfield and other rifles of different calibres are to be supplanted by the Krag-Jörgensens of the latest pattern; the obsolete tactics of Upton are to be superseded by the revised and simpler tactics now in force in the army; the annual regimental encampments, so often held for purposes of mere show and pleasure, are to yield to regimental, brigade, and division encampments, where, by the presence and example of regular troops and the instructions of regular officers, the duties and responsibilities of true citizen soldiery are to be impressed.

The most effective way of securing such uniformity, so necessary in a great emergency, is to bring together on the same field and in the same camp regular troops and the National Guard. This has already been tried in some of the Eastern and Western States with most gratifying results. The practice should be largely extended. To this end, General Dick's bill authorizes the Secretary of War, upon the request of the Governor of any State or Territory, to detail one or more officers of the army to command encampments of the organized militia of the National Guard for purposes of instruction and inspection. The bill further provides, on the request of the Governor, for participation by any part of the organized militia of any State in the encampment manœuvres and field instruction of any part of the regular army at or near any military post or camp or lake or sea-coast defences of the United States; and, when so participating, it shall receive the same pay, subsistence, and transportation as are received by the regulars, these expenses being paid by the Government.

This plan of co-operation has always been a favorite project with Secretary Root. The ignorance of both officers and men as to camp sanitation and the field exercises and manœuvres of large bodies of troops at Camp Alger, Chickamauga, Jacksonville, Tampa, and other points of rendezvous in the spring and early summer of 1898, no doubt impressed Mr. Root with the necessity of improvement in this direction. Since the Rebellion, few of our regular army officers even have had an opportunity of commanding anything larger than a regimental post; and the command of a brigade, to say nothing of a division, was an experience almost wholly unknown. The National Guard officers had even less opportunities of commanding camps; and in all but three or four of

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the States the officers of our National Guard have had command over no larger military organization than a single regiment, either in camp or field, and in many of the States the total strength even of a regiment was never assembled. When, therefore, such officers were suddenly called upon to command integral parts, whether company, regiment, brigade, or division, of an army corps in the great camps of mobilization in the Spanish-American War, they disclosed a lack of training, which was due to no fault of their own, but arose out of conditions then existing in both the regular army and the National Guard.

To remedy this defect and to supply this lack of opportunity on the part of both officers and men, the militia bill provides for the assembling of large bodies of troops in given camps. The union of the guards and regulars in many of the States, besides bringing about a more cordial feeling and improving the *esprit de corps* of both, would afford the officers experience in brigade and division commands, and would furnish the men with a practical knowledge in field manœuvres and the school of the soldier. Instead of waiting, therefore, until war is actually upon us before affording our officers and men the experience and instruction to be acquired by the mobilization of large bodies of troops, as is done in Germany, it would be the part of wisdom to furnish this instruction and experience now.

A step in this direction was taken in the Army Reorganization Act of 1900. This act contained a provision for the preliminary examination and survey of four sites, or permanent camp grounds, for the instruction of troops of the regular army and National Guard, these camps to be so located as to best serve the greatest number of troops of the regular army and the National Guard. If such camps be established and a camp located, for example, at Camp Douglas, Wisconsin, the present camp ground of the National Guard of that State, equi-distant from the regular army posts at Fort Sheridan, Ill.; Fort Snelling, Minn.; Fort Brady, Mich.; and the new post at Des Moines, Iowa, it could easily become the rendezvous of an army corps where, within twenty-four hours, more than 20,000 of the National Guard could be mobilized. At such a camp, all arms of the service could be represented; and, while the infantry would predominate, the artillery and cavalry of the regular army would furnish a sufficient force for purposes of instruction and battle manœuvres. At such a camp the

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guardsmen who are accustomed to the limitations of an infantry regiment would gain some practical knowledge of the movements of large bodies of infantry, the practice and drill of the field artillery, the evolutions of the cavalry, the operations of the signal and hospital corps, and would see as nowhere else save in actual warfare the end and purpose of army organization.

The writer's seven years' experience in the National Guard has led him to respect its achievements and its possibilities, but has not blinded him as to its defects and its limitations. The enactment of legislation along the lines of the Dick bill will tend to increase the achievements and possibilities of the National Guard and to remove its defects and limitations.

The passage of such a bill and the increased annual appropriation of $1,000,000 by the general Government, together with a new supply of rifles and ammunition from the arsenals of the United States, just provided for, will add new life to our National Guard; and it is to be hoped that the defects heretofore made apparent in times of emergency will never again occur. It is to be hoped that our present National Guard of about 120,000 men may, in the near future, be increased to 150,000 or 200,000, so that our second line may become, what it was originally designed to be under the Constitution, "a force to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions."

With a standing army which for one hundred years did not exceed 25,000 men, and which to-day does not exceed 70,000, we ought to feel all the greater interest in improving, increasing, and strengthening our second line, the National Guard. It costs the State and Federal Government at present less than $33 per man annually, as compared with $1,000 per man in our regular army, and about $450 per man for the hundreds of thousands in the standing army of Germany. For our home defence, therefore, our people need never groan and sweat beneath the weary load of a Pretorian army. With our National Guard placed upon a sure and respectable footing, we shall have demonstrated to the nations of the earth how to arm ourselves so that "every citizen shall provide the nation with a soldier, and yet no soldier deprive the nation of a single citizen."

JOHN J. ESCH.

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# THE AMBASSADORS.

BY HENRY JAMES.

## PART VIII.

### XIX.

Two days after the talk with Miss Gostrey that we have last commemorated Strether had news by Chad of a communication from Woollett in response to their determinant telegram, this missive being addressed to Chad himself and announcing the immediate departure for France of Sarah and Jim and Mamie. Strether had meanwhile, on his own side, cabled; he had but delayed that act till after his visit to Maria, an interview by which, as so often before, he felt his sense of things cleared up and settled. His message to Mrs. Newsome, in answer to her own, had consisted of the words: "Judge best to take another month, but with full appreciation of all reinforcements." He had added that he was writing, but he was of course always writing; it was a practice that continued, oddly enough, to relieve him, to make him come nearer than anything else to the consciousness of doing something: so that he often wondered if he had not really, under his recent stress, acquired some hollow trick, one of the specious arts of make-believe. Wouldn't the pages he still so freely despatched by the American post have been worthy of a showy journalist, some master of the great new science of beating the sense out of words? Wasn't he writing against time, and mainly to show he was kind?—since it had become quite his habit not to like to read himself over. On those lines he could still be liberal, yet it was at best a sort of whistling in the dark. It was unmistakable, moreover, that the sense of being in the dark now pressed on him more sharply—creating thereby the need for a louder and livelier whistle. He whistled long and hard after sending his message; he whistled again and again in celebration of Chad's news; there was an interval of a fortnight in which this exercise helped him. He had no great notion of what, on the spot, Sarah Pocock would have to say—though he had indeed confused premonitions; but it shouldn't be in her power to say—it shouldn't be in any one's anywhere to say—that he was neglecting her mother. He might have written before more freely, but he had never written

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more copiously; and he frankly gave for a reason, at Woollett, that he wished to fill the void created by Sarah's departure.

The increase of his darkness, however, and the quickening, as I have called it, of his tune, resided in the fact that he was hearing almost nothing. He had for some time been aware that he was hearing less than before, but he was now clearly following a process by which Mrs. Newsome's letters could only, logically, stop. He had not had a line for many days, and he needed no proof—though he was, in time, to have plenty—that she wouldn't have put pen to paper after receiving the hint that had determined her telegram. She wouldn't write till Sarah should have seen him and reported on him. It was strange, though it might well be less so than his own behavior appeared at Woollett. It was at any rate significant, and what *was* remarkable was the way his friend's nature and manner put on for him, through this very drop of demonstration, a greater intensity. It struck him really that he had never so lived with her as during this period of her silence; the silence was a sacred hush, a finer, clearer medium, in which her idiosyncrasies showed. He walked about with her, sat with her, drove with her and dined face-to-face with her—a rare treat "in his life," as he could perhaps have scarce escaped phrasing it; and if he had never seen her so soundless, so, on the other hand, he had never felt her so highly, so almost austerely, herself: pure and by the vulgar estimate "cold," but deep, devoted, delicate, sensitive, noble. Her vividness in these respects became for him, in the special conditions, almost an obsession; and though the obsession sharpened his pulses, adding really to the excitement of life, there were hours at which, to be less on the stretch, he directly sought forgetfulness. He knew it for the queerest of adventures—a circumstance that could play such a part only for Lambert Strether—that in Paris itself, of all places, he should find this ghost of the lady of Woollett more importunate than any other presence.

When he went back to Maria Gostrey it was for the change to something else. And yet, after all, the change scarcely operated, for he talked to her of Mrs. Newsome in these days as he had never talked before. He had hitherto observed in that particular a discretion and a law; considerations that at present broke down quite as if relations had altered. They hadn't *really* altered, he said to himself, so much as that came to; for if what had occurred was of course that Mrs. Newsome had ceased to trust him, there was nothing on the other hand to prove that he shouldn't win back her confidence. It was quite his present theory that he would leave no stone unturned to do so; and in fact if he now told Maria things about her that he had never told before, this was largely because it kept before him the idea of the honor of such a woman's esteem. His relation with Maria as well was, strangely enough, no longer quite the same; this truth—though not too disconcertingly—had come up between them on the renewal of their meetings. It was all

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contained in what she had then almost immediately said to him; it was represented by the remark she had needed but ten minutes to make and that he had not been disposed to gainsay. He could toddle alone, and the difference that showed was extraordinary. The turn taken by their talk had promptly confirmed this difference; his larger confidence on the score of Mrs. Newsome did the rest; and the time seemed already far-off when he had held out his small thirsty cup to the spout of her pail. Her pail was scarce touched now, and other fountains had flowed for him; she fell into her place as but one of his tributaries; and there was a strange sweetness—a melancholy mildness that touched him—in her acceptance of the altered order.

It marked for himself the flight of time, or at any rate what he was pleased to think of with irony and pity as the rush of experience; it having been but the day before yesterday that he sat at her feet and held on by her garment and was fed by her hand. It was the proportions that were changed, and the proportions were at all times, he philosophized, the very conditions of perception, the terms of thought. It was as if, with her effective little *entresol* and her wide acquaintance, her activities, varieties, promiscuities, the duties and devotions that took up nine-tenths of her time and of which he got, guardedly, but the side-wind—it was as if she had shrunk to a secondary element and had consented to the shrinkage with the perfection of tact. This perfection had never failed her; it had originally been greater than his prime measure for it; it had kept him quite apart, kept him out of the shop, as she called her huge general acquaintance, made their commerce as quiet, as much a thing of the home alone—the opposite of the shop—as if she had never another customer. She had been wonderful to him at first, with the memory of her little *entresol* the image to which, on most mornings at that time, his eyes directly opened; but now she mainly figured for him as but part of the bristling total—though of course always as a person to whom he should never cease to be indebted. It would never be given to him certainly to inspire a greater kindness. She had decked him out for others, and he saw at this point at least nothing she would ever ask for. She only wondered and questioned and listened, rendering him the homage of a wistful speculation. She expressed it repeatedly; he was already far beyond her, and she must prepare herself to lose him. There was but one little chance for her.

Often as she had said it he met it—for it was a touch he liked—each time the same way. "My coming to grief?"

"Yes—then I might patch you up."

"Oh, for my real smash, if it takes place, there will be no patching."

"But you surely don't mean it will kill you."

"No—worse. It will make me old."

"Ah, nothing can do that! The wonderful and special thing

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about you is that you *are*, at this time of day, youth." Then she always made, further, one of those remarks that she had completely ceased to adorn with hesitations or apologies, and that had, by the same token, in spite of their extreme straightness, ceased to produce in Strether the least embarrassment. She made him believe them, and they became thereby as impersonal as truth itself. "It's just your particular charm."

His answer too was always the same. "Of course I'm youth—youth for the trip to Europe. I began to be young, or at least to get the benefit of it, the moment I met you at Chester, and that's what has been taking place ever since. I never had the benefit at the proper time—which comes to saying that I never had the thing itself. I'm having the benefit at this moment; I had it the other day when I said to Chad 'Wait'; I shall have it still again when Sarah Pocock arrives. It's a benefit that would make a poor show for many people; and I don't know who else but you and I, frankly, could begin to see in it what I feel. I don't get drunk; I don't pursue the ladies; I don't spend money; I don't even write sonnets. But nevertheless I'm making up late for what I didn't have early. I cultivate my little benefit in my own little way. It amuses me more than anything that has happened to me in all my life. They may say what they like—it's my surrender, it's my tribute, to youth. One puts that in where one can—it has to come in somewhere, if only out of the lives, the conditions, the feelings of other persons. Chad gives me the sense of it, for all his gray hairs, which merely make it solid in him and safe and serene; and *she* does the same, for all her being older than he, for all her marriageable daughter, her separated husband, her agitated history. Though they're young enough, my pair, I don't say they're, in the freshest way, their *own* absolutely prime adolescence; for that has nothing to do with it. The point is that they're mine. Yes, they're my youth; since somehow, at the right time, nothing else ever was. What I meant just now therefore is that it would all go—go before doing its work—if they were to fail me."

On which, just here, Miss Gostrey inveterately questioned, "What do you, in particular, call its work?"

"Well, to see me through."

"But through what?"—she liked to get it all out of him.

"Why, through this experience." That was all that would come.

It regularly gave her, none the less, the last word. "Don't you remember how, in those first days of our meeting, it was *I* who was to see you through?"

"Remember? Tenderly, deeply"—he always rose to it. "You're just doing your part in letting me maunder to you thus."

"Ah, don't speak as if my part were small; since whatever else fails you—"

"*You* won't, ever, ever, ever?"—he thus took her up. "Oh, I beg your pardon; you necessarily, you inevitably *will*. Your condi-

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tions—that's what I mean—won't allow me anything to do for you."

"Let alone—I see what you mean—that I'm drearily, dreadfully old. I *am;* but there's a service—possible for you to render—that I know, all the same, I shall think of."

"And what will it be?"

This, in fine, however, she would never tell him. "You shall hear only if your smash takes place. As that is really out of the question, I won't expose myself"—a point at which, for reasons of his own, Strether ceased to press.

He came round, for publicity—it was the easiest thing—to the idea that his smash *was* out of the question, and that rendered idle the discussion of what might follow it. He attached an added importance, as the days elapsed, to the arrival of the Pococks; he had even a shameful sense of waiting for it insincerely and incorrectly. He accused himself of making believe to his own mind that Sarah's presence, her impression, her judgment would simplify and harmonize; he accused himself of being so afraid of what they *might* do, that he sought refuge, to beg the whole question, in a vain fury. He had abundantly seen at home what they were in the habit of doing, and he had not at present the smallest ground. His clearest vision was, when he made out that what he most desired was an account more full and free of Mrs. Newsome's state of mind than any he felt he could now expect from herself; that calculation, at least, went hand in hand with the sharp consciousness of wishing to prove to himself that he was not afraid to look his behavior in the face. If he was by an inexorable logic to pay for it, he was literally impatient to know the cost, and he held himself ready to pay in instalments. The first instalment would be precisely this entertainment of Sarah; as a consequence of which, moreover, he should know vastly better how he stood.

## XX.

He had driven to the station on the momentous day with Chad, but he quitted it half an hour later in different company. Chad had taken charge, for the journey to the hotel, of Sarah, Mamie, the maid and the luggage, all spaciously installed and conveyed; and it was only after the four had rolled away that his companion got into a cab with Jim. A strange new feeling had come over Strether, in consequence of which his spirits had risen; it was as if what had occurred on the alighting of the travellers had been something other than his fear, though his fear had yet not been of an instant scene of violence. His impression had been nothing but what was inevitable—he said that to himself; yet relief and reassurance had softly dropped upon him. Nothing could be so odd as to be indebted for these things to the look of faces and the sound of voices that had been with him to satiety, as he might have said,

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for years; but he now knew, all the same, how uneasy he had been; that was brought home to him by his present sense of a respite. It had come, moreover, in the flash of an eye; it had come in the smile with which Sarah, whom, at the window of her compartment, they had effusively greeted from the platform, rustled down to them a moment later, fresh and handsome from her cool June progress through the charming land. It was only a sign, but enough: she was going to be gracious and unallusive, she was going to play the larger game—which was still more apparent, after she had emerged from Chad's arms, in her direct greeting to the valued friend of her family.

Strether *was* then, as much as ever, the valued friend of her family; it was something he could at all events go on with; and the manner of his response to it expressed even for himself how little he had liked the prospect of ceasing to figure in that character. He had always seen Sarah gracious—had in fact rarely seen her shy or dry; her marked, thin-lipped smile, intense without brightness and as prompt to act as the scrape of a safety-match; the protrusion of her rather remarkably long chin, which in her case represented invitation and urbanity, and not, as in most others, pugnacity and defiance; the penetration of her voice to a distance, the general encouragement and approval of her manner, were all elements with which intercourse had made him familiar, but which he noted to-day almost as if she had been a new acquaintance. This first glimpse of her had given a brief but vivid accent to her resemblance to her mother; he could have taken her for Mrs. Newsome while she met his eyes as the train rolled into the station. It was an impression that quickly dropped; Mrs. Newsome was much handsomer, and while Sarah inclined to the massive her mother had, at an age, still the girdle of a maid; the latter's chin, also, was rather short than long, and her smile, by good fortune, much more, oh ever so much more, mercifully vague. Strether had seen Mrs. Newsome reserved; he had literally heard her silent; though he had never known her disagreeable. It was the case with Mrs. Pocock that he had known *her* disagreeable, even though he had never known her not affable. She had forms of affability that were in a high degree affirmative; nothing, for instance, had ever been more striking than that she was affable to Jim.

What had told, at any rate, at the window of the train, was her high, clear forehead, that forehead which her friends, for some reason, always thought of as a "brow"; the long reach of her eyes—it came out at this juncture in such a manner as to remind him, oddly enough, also of that of Waymarsh's; and the unusual gloss of her dark hair, dressed and hatted after her mother's refined example, with such an avoidance of extremes that it was always spoken of at Woollett as "their own." Though this analogy dropped as soon as she was on the platform it had lasted long enough to make him feel all the advantage, as it were, of his relief. The woman at

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home, the woman to whom he was attached, was before him just long enough to give him again the measure of the wretchedness, in fact really of the shame, of their having to recognize the formation, between them, of a "split." He had taken this measure in solitude and meditation; but the catastrophe, as Sarah steamed up, looked, for its few seconds, unprecedentedly dreadful—or proved, more exactly, absolutely unthinkable; so that his finding something free and familiar to respond to brought with it an instant renewal of his loyalty. He had suddenly sounded the whole depth, had gasped at what he might have lost.

Well, he could now, for the quarter of an hour of their detention, hover about the travellers as soothingly as if their direct message to him was that he had lost nothing. He wasn't going to have Sarah write to her mother that night that he was in any way altered or strange. There had been times enough for a month when it had seemed to him that he was strange, that he was altered, in every way; but that was a matter for himself; he knew at least whose business it was *not;* it was not at all events such a circumstance as Sarah's own unaided lights would help her to. Even if she had come out to flash those lights more than yet appeared, she wouldn't make much headway against mere pleasantness. He counted on being able to be merely pleasant to the end; and if only from incapacity, moreover, to formulate anything different. He couldn't even formulate to himself his being changed and queer; it had taken place, the process, somewhere deep down; Maria Gostrey had caught glimpses of it; but how was he to fish it up, even if he desired, for Mrs. Pocock? This was the spirit then in which he hovered, and with the easier throb in it much indebted, moreover, to the impression of high and established adequacy as a pretty girl promptly produced in him by Mamie. He had wondered vaguely—turning over many things in the fidget of his thoughts—if Mamie *were* as pretty as Woollett published her; as to which issue seeing her now again was to be so swept away by Woollett's opinion that this consequence really let loose for the imagination an avalanche of others. There were positively five minutes in which the last word seemed of necessity to abide with a Woollett represented by a Mamie. This was the sort of truth the place itself would feel; it would send her forth in confidence; it would point to her with triumph; it would take its stand on her with assurance; it would be conscious of no requirement she didn't meet, of no question she couldn't answer.

Well, it was right, Strether slipped smoothly enough into the cheerfulness of saying; granted that a community *might* be best represented by a young lady of twenty-two, Mamie perfectly played the part, played it as if she were used to it, and looked and spoke and dressed the character. He wondered if she mightn't, in the high light of Paris, a cool, full studio-light, becoming, yet treacherous, show as too conscious of these matters; but the next moment

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he felt satisfied that her consciousness was, after all, empty for its size, rather too simple than too mixed, and that the kind way with her would be not to take many things out of it, but to put as many as possible in. She was robust and conveniently tall; just a trifle too bloodlessly fair perhaps, but with a pleasant, public, familiar radiance that affirmed her vitality. She might have been "receiving" for Woollett, wherever she found herself, and there was something in her manner, her tone, her motion, her pretty blue eyes, her pretty perfect teeth and her very small, too small, nose, that immediately placed her, to the fancy, between the windows of a hot, bright room in which voices were high—up at that end to which people were brought to be "presented." They were there to congratulate, these images, and Strether's renewed vision, on this hint, completed the idea. What Mamie was like was the happy bride, the bride after the church and just before going away. She wasn't the mere maiden—yet on the other hand she was only as much married as *that*. She was in the brilliant, triumphant, festal stage. Well, might it last her long!

Strether rejoiced in these things for Chad, who was all genial attention to the needs of his friends, besides having arranged that his servant should reinforce him; the ladies were certainly pleasant to see, and Mamie would be at any time and anywhere pleasant to exhibit. She would look extraordinarily like his young wife—the wife of a honeymoon, should he go about with her; but that was his own affair—or perhaps it was hers; it was something, at any rate, she couldn't help. Strether remembered how he had seen him come up with Jeanne de Vionnet in Gloriani's garden, and the fancy he had had about that—the fancy obscured now, thickly overlaid with others; the recollection was during these minutes his only note of trouble. He had often, in spite of himself, wondered if Chad were *not*, with Jeanne, the object of a still and shaded flame. It was on the cards that the child *might* be tremulously in love, and this conviction now flickered up not a bit the less for his disliking to think of it, for its being, in a complicated situation, a complication the more, and for something indescribable in Mamie, something, at all events, that his own mind straightway lent her, something that gave her value, gave her intensity and purpose, as the symbol of an opposition. Little Jeanne wasn't really at all in question—how *could* she be?—yet from the moment Miss Pocock had shaken her skirts on the platform, touched up the immense bows of her hat and settled properly over her shoulder the strap of her morocco-and-gilt travelling satchel, from that moment little Jeanne was opposed.

It was in the cab with Jim that impressions really crowded on Strether, giving him the strangest sense of length of absence from people among whom he had lived for years. Having them thus come out to him was as if he had returned to find them; and the droll promptitude of Jim's mental reaction threw his own initiation far

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back into the past. Whoever might or mightn't be suited by what was going on among them, Jim, for one, would certainly be: his instant recognition—frank and whimsical—of what the affair was for *him* gave Strether a glow of pleasure. "I say, you know, this *is* about my shape, and if it hadn't been for *you*—!" so he broke out as the charming streets met his healthy appetite; and he wound up, after an expressive nudge, with a clap of his companion's knee and an "Oh, you, you—you *are* doing it!" that was charged with rich meaning. Strether felt in it the intention of homage, but, with a curiosity otherwise occupied, postponed taking it up. What he was asking himself for the time was how Sarah Pocock, in the opportunity already given her, had judged her brother—from whom he himself, as they finally, at the station, separated for their different conveyances, had had a look into which he could read more than one message. However Sarah was judging her brother, Chad's conclusion about his sister, and about her husband and her husband's sister, was at the least on the way to be sharp. Strether felt the sharpness, and that, as the look between them was an exchange, what he himself gave back was relatively vague. That comparison of notes, however, could wait; everything struck him as depending on the effect produced by Chad. Neither Sarah nor Mamie had in any way, at the station—where they had had, after all, full time—broken out about it; which, to make up for this, was what our friend had expected of Jim as soon as they should find themselves together.

It was queer to him that he had had that noiseless brush with Chad; an ironic intelligence with this youth on the subject of his relatives, an intelligence carried on under their nose and, as might be said, at their expense—such a matter marked again for him strongly the number of stages he had come; albeit that if the number seemed great the time taken for the final one was but the turn of a hand. He had before this had his moments of wondering if he himself were not perhaps changed even as Chad was changed. Only what in Chad was conspicuous improvement—well, he had no name ready for the action, in his own organism, of his own more timid dose. He should have to see first what this action would be. And for his occult passage with the young man, after all, the directness of it had no greater oddity than the fact that the young man's way with the three travellers should have been so happy a manifestation. Strether liked him for it, on the spot, as he had not yet liked him; it affected him, while it lasted, as he might have been affected by some light, pleasant, perfect work of art: to that degree that he wondered if they were really worthy of it, took it in and did it justice; to that degree that it would have been scarce a miracle if, there in the luggage-room, while they waited for their things, Sarah had pulled his sleeve and drawn him aside. "You're right; we haven't quite known what you mean, mother and I, but now we see. Chad's magnificent; what can one want more? If *this* be the



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kind of thing—!" On which they might, as it were, have embraced and begun to work together.

Ah, how much, as it was, for all her bridling brightness—which was merely general and noticed nothing—*would* they work together? Strether knew he was unreasonable; he set it down to his being nervous: people couldn't notice everything and speak of everything in a quarter of an hour. Possibly, no doubt, also, he made too much of Chad's display. Yet, none the less, when, at the end of five minutes, in the cab, Jim Pocock had said nothing either—hadn't said, that is, what Strether wanted, though he had said much else—it all suddenly bounced back to their being either stupid or wilful. It was more probably, on the whole, the former; so that that would be the drawback of the bridling brightness. Yes, they would bridle and be bright; they would make the best of what was before them, but their observation would fail; it would be beyond them; they simply wouldn't understand. Of what use would it be then that they had come?—if they weren't to be intelligent up to *that* point: unless indeed he himself were utterly deluded and extravagant? Was he, on this question of Chad's improvement, fantastic and away from the truth? Did he live in a false world, a world that had grown simply to suit him, and was his present slight irritation—in the face, now, of Jim's silence in particular—but the alarm of the vain thing menaced by the touch of the real? Was this contribution of the real possibly the mission of the Pococks?—had they come to make the work of observation, as *he* had practised observation, crack and crumble, and to reduce Chad to the plain terms in which honest minds could deal with him? Had they come in short to be sane where Strether was destined to feel that he himself had only been silly?

He glanced at such a contingency, but it failed to hold him long when once he had reflected that he would have been silly, in this case, with Maria Gostrey and little Bilham, with Mme. de Vionnet and little Jeanne, with Lambert Strether, in fine, and above all with Chad Newsome himself. Wouldn't it be found to have made more for reality to be silly with these persons than sane with Sarah and Jim? Jim, in fact, he presently made up his mind, was individually out of it; Jim didn't care; Jim hadn't come out either for Chad or for him; Jim, in short, left the moral side to Sally, and indeed simply availed himself now, for the sense of recreation, of the fact that he left almost everything to Sally. He was nothing compared to Sally, and not so much by reason of Sally's temper and will as by that of her more developed type and greater acquaintance with the world. He quite frankly and serenely confessed, as he sat there with Strether, that he felt his type hang far in the rear of his wife's, and still further, if possible, in the rear of his sister's. Their types, he well knew, were recognized and acclaimed; whereas the most a leading Woollett business-man could hope to achieve

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socially, and, for that matter, industrially, was a certain freedom to play into this general glamour.

The impression he made on our friend was another of the things that marked our friend's road. It was a strange impression, especially as so soon produced; Strether had received it, he judged, all in the twenty minutes; it struck him at least as but in a minor degree the work of the long Woollett years. Pocock was normally and consentingly, though not quite wittingly, out of the question. It was despite his being normal; it was despite his being cheerful; it was despite his being a leading Woollett business-man; and the determination of his fate left him thus perfectly usual—as everything else about it was clearly, to his sense, not less so. He seemed to say that there was a whole side of life on which the perfectly usual *was* for leading Woollett business-men to be out of the question. He made no more of it than that, and Strether, so far as Jim was concerned, desired to make no more. Only Strether's imagination, as always, worked, and he asked himself if this side of life were not somehow connected, for those who figured on it, with the fact of marriage. Would *his* relation to it, had he married ten years before, have become now the same as Pocock's? Might it even become the same should he marry in a few months? Should he ever know himself as much out of the question for Mrs. Newsome as Jim knew himself—in a dim way—for Mrs. Jim?

To turn his eyes in that direction was to be, personally, reassured; he was different from Pocock; he had affirmed himself differently; and he was held, after all, in higher esteem. What none the less came home to him, however, at this hour, was that the society, over there, of which Sarah and Mamie—and, in a more eminent way, Mrs. Newsome herself—were specimens, was essentially a society of women, and that poor Jim wasn't in it. He himself, Lambert Strether, *was,* as yet, in some degree—which was an odd situation for a man; but it kept coming back to him in a whimsical way that he should perhaps find his marriage had cost him his place. This occasion indeed, whatever that fancy represented, was not a time of sensible exclusion for Jim, who was in a state of manifest response to the charm of his adventure. Small and fat and constantly facetious, straw-colored and destitute of marks, he would have been practically indistinguishable had not his constant preference for light-gray clothes, for white hats, for very big cigars and very little stories done what it could for his identity. There were signs in him, though none of them plaintive, of always paying for others; and the principal one perhaps was just this failure of type. It was with this that he paid, rather than with fatigue or waste; and also, doubtless, a little, with the effort of humor—never irrelevant to the conditions, to the relations, with which he was acquainted.

He gurgled his joy as they rolled through the happy streets; he declared that his trip was a regular windfall, and that he wasn't

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there, he was eager to remark, to hang back from anything; he didn't know quite what Sally had come for, but *he* had come for a good time. Strether indulged him even while wondering if what Sally wanted her brother to go back for was to become like her husband. He trusted that a good time was to be, out and out, the programme for all of them; and he assented liberally to Jim's proposal that, disencumbered and irresponsible—his things were in the omnibus with those of the others—they should take a further turn round before going to the hotel. It wasn't for *him* to tackle Chad—it was Sally's job; and as it would be like her, he felt, to open fire on the spot, it wouldn't be amiss of them to hold off and give her time. Strether, on his side, only asked to give her time; so he jogged with his companion along boulevards and avenues, trying to extract from meagre material some forecast of his catastrophe. He was quick enough to see that Jim Pocock declined judgment, had hovered quite round the outer edge of discussion and anxiety, leaving all analysis of their question to the ladies alone, and now only feeling his way toward some small, droll cynicism. It broke out afresh, the cynicism—it had already shown a flicker—in a but slightly deferred: "Well, hanged if I would if *I* were he!"

"You mean you wouldn't in Chad's place—?"

"Give up this to go back and boss the advertising!" Poor Jim, with his arms folded and his little legs out in the open fiacre, drank in the sparkling Paris noon and carried his eyes from one side of their vista to the other. "Why, I want to come out here and live myself. And I want to live while I *am* here too. I feel with *you*—oh you've been grand, old man, and I've twigged—that it ain't right to worry Chad. *I* don't mean to persecute him; I couldn't in conscience. It's thanks to you, at any rate, that I'm here; and I'm sure I'm much obliged. You're a lovely pair."

There were things in this speech that Strether, for the time, let pass. "Don't you then think it important the advertising should be thoroughly taken in hand? Chad *will* be, so far as capacity is concerned," he went on, "the man to do it."

"Where did he get his capacity," Jim asked, "over here?"

"He didn't get it over here, and the wonderful thing is that, over here, he hasn't inevitably lost it. He has a natural turn for business, an extraordinary head. He comes by that," Strether explained, "honestly enough. He's in that respect his father's son, and also—for she's wonderful, in her way, too—his mother's. He has other tastes and other tendencies; but Mrs. Newsome and your wife are quite right about his having that. He's very remarkable."

"Well, I guess he is!" Jim Pocock comfortably sighed. "But if you've believed so in his making us hum, why have you so prolonged the discussion? Don't you know we've been quite anxious about you?"

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These questions were not informed with earnestness, but Strether saw he must none the less make a choice and take a line. "Because, you see, I've greatly liked it. I've liked my Paris. I dare say I've liked it too much."

"Oh, you old wretch!" Jim gayly exclaimed.

"But nothing is concluded," Strether went on. "The case is more complex than it looks from Woollett."

"Oh well, it looks bad enough from Woollett!" Jim declared.

"Even after all I've written?"

Jim bethought himself. "Isn't it what you've written that has made Mrs. Newsome pack us off? That, at least, and Chad's not turning up?"

Strether made a reflection of his own. "I see. That she should do something was, no doubt, inevitable, and your wife has therefore, of course, come out to act."

"Oh yes," Jim concurred—"to act. But Sally comes out to act, you know," he lucidly added, "every time she leaves the house. She never comes out but she *does* act. She's acting moreover now for her mother, and that fixes the scale." Then he wound up, opening all his senses to it, with a renewed embrace of pleasant Paris. "We haven't, all the same, at Woollett, got anything like this."

Strether continued to consider. "I'm bound to say for you all that you strike me as having arrived in a very mild and reasonable frame of mind. You don't show your claws. I felt just now in Mrs. Pocock no symptom of that. She isn't fierce," he went on. "I'm such a nervous idiot that I thought she might be."

"Oh, don't you know her well enough," Pocock asked, "to have noticed that she never gives herself away, any more than her mother ever does? They ain't fierce, either of 'em; they let you come quite close. They wear their fur the smooth side out—the warm side in. Do you know what they are?" Jim pursued as he looked about him, giving the question, as Strether felt, but half his care—"do you know what they are? They're about as intense as they can live."

"Yes"—and Strether's concurrence had a positive precipitation; "they're about as intense as they can live."

"They don't lash about and shake the cage," said Jim, who seemed pleased with his analogy; "and it's at feeding-time that they're quietest. But they always get there."

"They do indeed—they always get there!" Strether replied with a laugh that justified his confession of nervousness. He disliked to be talking sincerely of Mrs. Newsome with Pocock; he could have talked insincerely. But there was something he wanted to know, a need created in him by her recent intermission, by his having given, from the first, so much, as now more than ever appeared to him, and got so little. It was as if a queer truth in his companion's metaphor had rolled over him with a rush. She *had* been quiet at feeding-time; she had fed, and Sarah had fed with her, out

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of the big bowl of all his recent free communication, his vividness and pleasantness, his ingenuity and even his eloquence, while the current of her response had steadily run thin. Jim meanwhile, however, it was true, slipped characteristically into shallowness from the moment he ceased to speak out of the experience of a husband.

"But of course Chad has now the advantage of being there before her. If he doesn't work that for all it's worth—!" He sighed with contingent pity at his brother-in-law's possible want of resource. "He has worked it on *you*, pretty well, eh?" and he asked the next moment if there were anything new at the Varieties, which he pronounced in the American manner. They talked about the Varieties—Strether confessing to a knowledge which produced again on Pocock's part a play of innuendo as vague as a nursery-rhyme, yet as aggressive as an elbow in his side; and they finished their drive under the protection of easy themes. Strether waited to the end, but still in vain, for any show that Jim had seen Chad as different; and he could scarce have explained the discouragement he drew from the absence of this testimony. It was what he had taken his own stand on, so far as he had taken a stand; and if they were all only going to see nothing, he had only wasted his time. He gave his friend till the very last moment, till they had come into sight of the hotel; and when poor Pocock only continued cheerful and envious and funny he fairly grew to dislike him, to feel him extravagantly common. If they were *all* going to see nothing!—Strether knew, as this came back to him, that he was also letting Pocock represent for him what Mrs. Newsome wouldn't see. He went on disliking, in the light of Jim's commonness, to talk to him about that lady; yet just before the cab pulled up he knew the extent of his desire for the real word from Woollett.

"Has Mrs. Newsome at all given way—?"

"'Given way'?"—Jim echoed it with the practical derision of his sense of a long past.

"Under the strain, I mean, of hope deferred, of disappointment repeated and thereby intensified."

"Oh, is she prostrate, you mean?"—he had his categories in hand. "Why, yes, she's prostrate—just as Sally is. But they're never so lively, you know, as when they're prostrate."

"Ah, Sarah's prostrate?" Strether vaguely murmured.

"It's when they're prostrate that they most sit up."

"And Mrs. Newsome is sitting up?"

"All night, my boy—for *you!*" And Jim fetched him, with a vulgar little guffaw, a thrust that gave relief to the picture. But he had got what he wanted. He felt on the spot that this *was* the real word from Woollett. "So don't you go home!" Jim added while he alighted and while his friend, letting him profusely pay the cabman, sat on in a momentary muse. Strether wondered if that were the real word too.

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## XXI.

As the door of Mrs. Pocock's salon was pushed open for him, the next day, well before noon, he was reached by a voice with a charming sound that made him just falter before crossing the threshold. Mme. de Vionnet was already on the field, and this gave the drama a quicker pace than he felt it as yet—though his suspense had increased—in the power of any act of his own to do. He had spent the previous evening with all his old friends together; yet he would still have described himself as quite in the dark in respect to a forecast of their influence on his situation. It was strange now, none the less, that, in the light of this unexpected note of her presence, he felt Mme. de Vionnet a part of that situation as she had not even yet been. She was alone, he found himself assuming, with Sarah, and there was a bearing in that—somehow beyond his control—on his personal fate. Yet she was only saying something quite independent and charming—the thing she had come, as a good friend of Chad's, on purpose to say. "There isn't anything at all—? I should be so delighted."

It was clear enough, when they were there before him, how she had been received. He saw this, as Sarah got up to greet him, from something fairly hectic in Sarah's face. He saw furthermore that they were not, as had first come to him, alone together; he was at no loss as to the identity of the broad, high back presented to him in the embrasure of the window furthest from the door. Waymarsh, whom he had to-day not yet seen, whom he only knew to have left the hotel before him and who had taken part, the night previous, on Mrs. Pocock's kind invitation, conveyed by Chad, in the entertainment, informal but cordial, promptly offered by that lady—Waymarsh had anticipated him even as Mme. de Vionnet had done, and, with his hands in his pockets and his attitude unaffected by Strether's entrance, was looking out, in marked detachment, at the Rue de Rivoli. The latter felt it in the air—it was immense how Waymarsh could mark things—that he had remained deeply dissociated from the overture to their hostess that we have recorded on Mme. de Vionnet's side. He had, conspicuously, tact, besides a stiff general view; and this was why he had left Mrs. Pocock to struggle alone. He would outstay the visitor; he would unmistakably wait; to what had he been doomed for months past but waiting? Therefore she was to feel that she had him in reserve. What support she drew from this was still to be seen, for, although Sarah was vividly bright, she had given herself up, for the moment, to an ambiguous flushed formalism. She had had to reckon more quickly than she expected; but it concerned her first of all to signify that she was not to be taken unawares. Strether arrived precisely in time for her showing it. "Oh, you're too good; but I don't think I feel quite helpless. I have my brother—and these American friends. And then, you know, I've been to Paris. I *know* Paris," said Sally Pocock in a tone that breathed a certain chill on Strether's heart.

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"Ah, but a woman, in this tiresome place where everything is always changing, a woman of good will," Mme. de Vionnet threw off, "can always help a woman. I'm sure you 'know'—but we know perhaps different things." She too, visibly, wished to make no mistake; but it was a fear of a different order, and she kept it more out of sight. She smiled in welcome at Strether; she greeted him more familiarly than Mrs. Pocock; she put out her hand to him without moving from her place; and it came to him, in the course of a minute, and in the oddest way, that—yes, positively—she was giving him over to ruin. She was all kindness and ease, but she couldn't help so giving him; she was exquisite, and her being just as she was poured, for Sarah, a sudden rush of meaning into his own equivocations. How could she know how she was hurting him? She wanted to show as simple and humble—in the degree compatible with operative charm; but it was just this that seemed to put him on her side. She struck him as dressed, as arranged, as prepared infinitely to conciliate; with the very poetry of good taste in her view of the conditions of her early call. She was ready to advise about dressmakers and shops; she held herself wholly at the disposition of Chad's family. Strether noticed her card on the table—her coronet and her "Comtesse"—and the imagination was sharp in him of certain private adjustments in Sarah's mind. She had never, he was sure, sat with a "Comtesse" before, and such was the specimen of that class he had been keeping to play on her. She had crossed the sea very particularly for a look at her; but he read in Mme. de Vionnet's own eyes that this curiosity had not been so successfully met as that she herself would not now have more than ever need of him. She looked much as she had looked to him that morning at Notre Dame; he noted in fact the suggestive sameness of her discreet and delicate dress. It seemed to speak—perhaps a little prematurely or too finely—of the sense in which she would help Mrs. Pocock with the shops. The way that lady took her in, moreover, added depth to his impression of what Miss Gostrey, by their common wisdom, had escaped. He winced as he saw himself, but for that timely prudence, ushering in Maria as a guide and an example. There was, however, a touch of relief for him in his glimpse, so far as he had got it, of Sarah's line. She "knew Paris." Mme. de Vionnet had, for that matter, lightly taken this up. "Ah, then you've a turn for that, an affinity that belongs to your family. Your brother, though his long experience makes a difference, I admit, has become one of us in a marvellous way." And she appealed to Strether in the manner of a woman who could always glide off with smoothness into another subject. Wasn't *he* struck with the way Mr. Newsome had made the place his own, and hadn't he been in a position to profit by his friend's wondrous expertness?

Strether felt the bravery, at the least, of her presenting herself so promptly to sound that note, and yet asked himself what other note, after all, she *could* strike from the moment she presented herself at

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all. She could meet Mrs. Pocock only on the ground of the obvious, and what feature of Chad's situation was more eminent than the fact that he had created for himself a new set of circumstances? Unless she hid herself altogether she could show but as one of these, an illustration of his domiciled, and indeed of his confirmed, condition. And the consciousness of all this, in her charming eyes, was so clear and fine that as she thus publicly drew him into her boat she produced in him such a silent agitation as he was not to fail afterwards to denounce as pusillanimous. "Ah, don't be so charming to me!—for it makes us intimate, and, after all, what *is* between us, when I've been so tremendously on my guard and have seen you but half-a-dozen times?" He recognized once more the perverse law that so inveterately governed his poor personal aspects: it would be exactly *like* the way things always turned out for him that he should affect Mrs. Pocock and Waymarsh as launched in a relation in which he had really never been launched at all. They were at this very moment—they could only be—attributing to him the full license of it, and all by the operation of her own tone with him; whereas his sole license had been to cling, with intensity, to the brink, not to dip so much as a toe into the flood. But the flicker of his fear on this occasion was not, as may be added, to repeat itself; it sprang up, for its moment, only to die down and then go out forever. To meet his fellow-visitor's invocation and, with Sarah's brilliant eyes on him, answer, *was* quite sufficiently to step into her boat. During the rest of the time her visit lasted he felt himself proceed to each of the proper offices, successively, for helping to keep the adventurous skiff afloat. It rocked beneath him, but he settled himself in his place. He took up an oar, and since he was to have the credit of pulling, he pulled.

"That will make it all the pleasanter if it so happens that we *do* meet," Mme. de Vionnet had further observed in reference to Mrs. Pocock's mention of her initiated state; and she had immediately added that, after all, her hostess couldn't be in need with the good offices of Mr. Strether so close at hand. "It's he, I gather, who has learned to know his Paris, and to love it, better than any one ever before in so short a time; so that between him and your brother, when it comes to the point, how can you possibly want for good guidance? The great thing, Mr. Strether will show you," she smiled, "is just to let one's self go."

"Oh, I've not let myself go very far," Strether answered, feeling quite as if he had been called upon to hint to Mrs. Pocock how Parisians could talk. "I'm only afraid of showing I haven't let myself go far enough. I've taken a good deal of time, but I must quite have had the air of not budging from one spot." He looked at Sarah in a manner that he thought she might take as engaging, and he made, under Mme. de Vionnet's protection, as it were, his first personal point. "What has really happened has been that, all the while, I've done what I came out for."

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Yet it only, at first, gave Mme. de Vionnet a chance immediately to take him up. "You've renewed acquaintance with your friend—you've learned to know him again." She spoke with such cheerful helpfulness that they might, in a common cause, have been calling together and pledged to mutual aid.

Waymarsh, at this, as if he had been in question, straightway turned from the window. "Oh yes, Countess—he has renewed acquaintance with *me*, and he *has*, I guess, learned something about me, though I don't know how much he has liked it. It's for Strether himself to say whether he has felt it justifies his course."

"Oh, but *you*," said the Countess gayly, "are not in the least what he came out for—is he really, Strether?—and I hadn't you at all in my mind. I was thinking of Mr. Newsome, of whom we think so much and with whom, precisely, Mrs. Pocock has given herself the opportunity to take up threads. What a pleasure for you both!" Mme. de Vionnet, with her eyes on Sarah, bravely continued.

Mrs. Pocock met her handsomely, but Strether quickly saw she meant to accept no version of her movements or plans from any other lips. She required no patronage and no support, which were but other names for a false position; she would show in her own way what she chose to show, and this she expressed with a dry glitter that recalled to him a fine Woollett winter morning. "I've never wanted for opportunities to see my brother. We've many things to think of at home, and great responsibilities and occupations, and our home is not an impossible place. We've plenty of reasons," Sarah continued a little piercingly, "for everything we do"—and in short she wouldn't give herself the least little scrap away. But she added as one who was always bland and who could afford a concession: "I've come because—well, because we do come."

"Ah, fortunately!"—Mme. de Vionnet breathed it to the air. Five minutes later they were on their feet for her to take leave, standing together in an affability that had succeeded in surviving a further exchange of remarks; only with the rather marked appearance on Waymarsh's part of a tendency to revert, in a ruminating manner, and as with an instinctive or a precautionary lightening of his tread, to an open window and his point of vantage. The glazed and gilded room, all red damask, ormolu, mirrors, clocks, looked south, and the shutters were bowed upon the summer morning; but the Tuileries garden and what was beyond it, over which the whole place hung, were things visible through gaps; so that the far-spreading presence of Paris came up in coolness, dimness and invitation, in the twinkle of gilt-tipped palings, the crunch of gravel, the click of hoofs, the crack of whips, things that suggested some parade of the circus. "I think it probable," said Mrs. Pocock, "that I shall have the opportunity of going to my brother's. I've no doubt it's very pleasant indeed." She spoke as to Strether, but her face was turned, with an intensity of brightness, to Mme. de Vionnet, and there was a moment during which, while she thus fronted her,

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our friend expected to hear her add: "I'm much obliged to you, I'm sure, for inviting me there." He guessed that, for five seconds, these words were on the point of coming; he heard them as clearly as if they had been spoken; but he presently knew they had just failed—knew it by a glance, quick and fine, from Mme. de Vionnet, which told him that she too had felt them in the air, but that the point had luckily not been made in any manner requiring notice. This left her free to reply only to what had been said.

"That the Boulevard Malesherbes may be common ground for us offers me the best prospect I see for the pleasure of meeting you again."

"Oh, I shall come to see you, since you've been so good:" and Mrs. Pocock looked her interlocutress well in the eyes. The flush in Sarah's cheeks had by this time settled to a small definite crimson spot that was not without its own bravery; she held her head a good deal up, and it came to Strether that of the two, at this moment, she was the one who most carried out the idea of a Countess. He quite took in, however, that she would really return her visitor's civility: she would not report again at Woollett without at least so much producible history as that in her pocket.

"I want extremely to be able to show you my little daughter," Mme. de Vionnet went on; "and I should have brought her with me if I hadn't wished first to ask your leave. I was in hopes I should perhaps find Miss Pocock, of whose being with you I've heard from Mr. Newsome, and whose acquaintance I should so much like my child to make. If I have the pleasure of seeing her, and you do permit it, I shall venture to ask her to be kind to Jeanne. Mr. Strether will tell you"—she beautifully kept it up—"that my poor girl is gentle and good and rather lonely. They've made friends, he and she, ever so happily, and he doesn't, I believe, think ill of her. As for Jeanne herself, he has had the same success with her that I know he has had, here, wherever he has turned." She seemed to ask him for permission to say these things, or seemed, rather, to take it, softly and happily, with the ease of intimacy, for granted, and he had quite the consciousness now that not to meet her at any point more than half way would be odiously, basely to abandon her. Yes, he was *with* her, and, confronted even in this covert, this semi-safe fashion with those who where not, he felt, strangely and confusedly, but excitedly, inspiringly, how much and how far. It was as if he had positively waited in suspense for something from her that would let him in deeper, so that he might show her how he could take it. And what did in fact come as she drew out a little her farewell served sufficiently the purpose. "As his success is a matter that I'm sure he'll never mention for himself, I feel, you see, the less scruple; which it's very good of me to say, you know, by the way," she added as she addressed herself to him; "considering how little direct advantage I've gained from your triumphs with *me*. When does one ever see you? I wait at home and I languish. You'll

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have rendered me the service, Mrs. Pocock, at least," she wound up, "of giving me one of my much too rare glimpses of this gentleman."

"I certainly should be sorry to deprive you of anything that seems so much, as you describe it, your natural due. Mr. Strether and I are very old friends," Sarah conceded, "but the privilege of his society is not a thing I shall quarrel about with any one."

"And yet, dear Sarah," he freely broke in, "I feel, when I hear you say that, that you don't quite do justice to the important truth of the extent to which—as you're also mine—I'm *your* natural due. I should like much better," he laughed, "to see you fight for me."

She met him, Mrs. Pocock, on this, with an arrest of speech—with a certain breathlessness, as he immediately fancied, on the score of a freedom for which she was not quite prepared. It had flared up—for all the harm he had intended by it—because, confoundedly, he didn't want any more to be afraid about her than he wanted to be afraid about Mme. de Vionnet. He had never, naturally, called her anything but Sarah at home, and though he had perhaps never quite so markedly invoked her as his "dear," that was somehow partly because no occasion had hitherto laid so effective a trap for it. But something admonished him now that it was too late—unless indeed it were possibly too early; and that he at any rate shouldn't have pleased Mrs. Pocock the more by it. "Well, Mr. Strether—!" she murmured with vagueness, yet with sharpness, while her crimson spots burned a trifle brighter and he was aware that this must be for the present the limit of her response. Mme. de Vionnet had already, however, come to his aid, and Waymarsh, as if for further participation, moved again back to them. It was true that the aid rendered by Mme. de Vionnet was questionable; it was a sign that, for all one might confess to with her, and for all she might complain of not enjoying, she could still insidiously show how much of the material of conversation had accumulated between them.

"The real truth is, you know, that you sacrifice one without mercy to dear old Maria. She leaves no room in your life for anybody else. Do you know," she inquired of Mrs. Pocock, "about dear old Maria? The worst is that Miss Gostrey is really a wonderful woman."

"Oh yes indeed," Strether answered for her, "Mrs. Pocock knows about Miss Gostrey. Your mother, Sarah, must have told you about her; your mother knows everything," he sturdily pursued. "And I cordially admit," he added with his conscious gayety of courage, "that she's as wonderful a woman as you like."

"Ah, it isn't *I* who 'like,' dear Mr. Strether, anything to do with the matter!" Sarah Pocock promptly protested; "and I'm by no means sure I have—from my mother or from any one else—a notion of whom you're talking about."

"Well, he won't let you see her, you know," Mme de Vionnet sym-

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pathetically threw in. "He never lets *me*—old friends as we are: I mean as I am with Maria. He reserves her for his best hours; keeps her consummately to himself; only gives us others the crumbs of the feast."

"Well, Countess, *I've* had some of the crumbs," Waymarsh observed with weight and covering her with his large look; which led her to break in before he could go on.

"*Comment donc,* he shares her with *you?*" she exclaimed in droll stupefaction. "Take care you don't have, before you go much further, rather more of all *ces dames* than you may know what to do with!"

But he only continued in his massive way. "I can post you about the lady, Mrs. Pocock, so far as you may care to hear. I've seen her quite a number of times, and I was practically present when they made acquaintance. I've kept my eye on her right along, but I don't know as there's any real harm in her."

"'Harm'?" Mme. de Vionnet quickly echoed. "Why, she's the dearest and cleverest of all the clever and dear."

"Well, you run her pretty close, Countess," Waymarsh returned with spirit; "though there's no doubt she's pretty well up in things. She knows her way round Europe. Above all there's no doubt she does love Strether."

"Ah, but we all do that—we all love Strether: it isn't a merit!" their fellow-visitor laughed, keeping to her idea with a good conscience at which our friend was aware that he marvelled, though he trusted also for it, as he met her exquisitely expressive eyes, to some later light. The prime effect of her tone, however—and it was a truth which his own eyes gave back to her in sad ironic play—could only be to make him feel that, to say such things to a man in public, a woman must practically think of him as ninety years old. He had turned awkwardly, responsibly red, he knew, at her mention of Maria Gostrey; Sarah Pocock's presence—the particular quality of it—had made this inevitable; and then he had grown still redder in proportion as he hated to have shown anything at all. He felt indeed that he was showing much, as, uncomfortably and almost in pain, he offered up his redness to Waymarsh, who, strangely enough, seemed now to be looking at him with a certain explanatory yearning. Something deep—something built on their old, old relation—passed, in this complexity, between them: he got the side-wind of a loyalty that stood behind all actual queer questions. Waymarsh's dry, bare humor—as it gave itself to be taken—gloomed out to justify itself. "Well, if you talk of Miss Barrace I've *my* chance too," it appeared stiffly to nod, and it granted that it was giving him away, but struggled to say that it did so only to save him. The sombre glow stared it at him till it fairly sounded out—"to save you, poor old man, to save you; to save you in spite of yourself." Yet it was somehow just this communication that showed him to himself as more than ever lost. Still another result of it was to put

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before him as never yet that between his comrade and the interest represented by Sarah there was already a basis. Beyond all question now, yes: Waymarsh had been in occult relation with Mrs. Newsome—out, out it all came in the very effort of his face. "Yes, you're feeling my hand"—he as good as proclaimed it; "but only because this at least I *shall* have got out of the damned Old World: that I shall have picked up the pieces into which it has caused you to crumble." It was as if, in short, after an instant, Strether had not only had it from him, but had recognized that, so far as this went, the instant had cleared the air. Our friend understood and approved; he had the sense that they wouldn't otherwise speak of it. This would be all, and it would mark in himself a kind of intelligent generosity. It was with grim Sarah then—Sarah grim for all her grace—that Waymarsh had begun at ten o'clock in the morning to save him. Well—if he *could*, poor dear man, with his big, narrow kindness! The upshot of which crowded perception was that Strether, on his own side, still showed no more than he absolutely had to. He showed the least possible by saying to Mrs. Pocock after an interval much briefer than our glance at the picture as reflected in him: "Oh, it's as true as they please! There's no Miss Gostrey for any one but me—not the least little peep. I keep her to myself."

"Well, it's very good of you to notify me," Sarah replied without looking at him, and thrown for a moment by this discrimination, as the direction of her eyes showed, upon a dimly-desperate little community with Mme. de Vionnet. "But I hope I sha'n't miss her too much."

Mme. de Vionnet instantly rallied. "And, you know—though it might occur to one—it isn't in the least that he's ashamed of her. She's really—in a way—extremely good-looking."

"Ah, but extremely!" Strether laughed while he wondered at the odd part he found thus imposed on him.

It continued to be so by every touch from Mme. de Vionnet. "Well, as I say, you know, I wish you would keep *me* a little more to yourself. Couldn't you name some day for me, some hour—and better soon than late? I will be at home whenever it best suits you. There—I can't say fairer."

Strether thought a moment, while Waymarsh and Mrs. Pocock affected him as standing attentive. "I did lately call on you. Last week—while Chad was out of town."

"Yes—and I was away, as it happened, too. You choose your moments well. But don't wait for my next absence, for I sha'n't make another," Mme. de Vionnet declared, "while Mrs. Pocock is here."

"That vow needn't keep you long, fortunately," Sarah observed with reasserted suavity. "I shall be at present but a short time in Paris. I have my plans for other countries. I meet charming friends"—and her voice seemed to caress that description of these persons.

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"Ah then," her visitor cheerfully replied, "all the more reason! To-morrow, for instance, or next day?" she continued to Strether. "Tuesday would do for me beautifully."

"Tuesday then with pleasure."

"And at half past five?—or at six?"

It was ridiculous, but Mrs. Pocock and Waymarsh struck him as fairly waiting for his answer. It was indeed as if they were arranged, gathered for a performance, the performance of "Europe" by his confederate and himself. Well, the performance could only go on. "Say five forty-five."

"Five forty-five—good." And now at last Mme. de Vionnet must leave them, though it carried, for herself, the performance a little further. "I *did* hope so much also to see Miss Pocock. Mayn't I still?"

Sarah hesitated, but she rose equal. "She will return your visit with me. She's at present out with Mr. Pocock and my brother."

"I see—of course Mr. Newsome has everything to show them. He has told me so much about her. My great desire is to give my daughter the opportunity of making her acquaintance. I'm always on the look-out for such chances for her. If I didn't bring her to-day, it was only to make sure first that you'd let me." After which the charming woman risked a more intense appeal. "It wouldn't suit *you* also to mention some near time, so that we shall be sure not to lose you?" Strether, on his side, waited, for Sarah likewise had, after all, to perform; and it occupied him to have been thus reminded that she had stayed at home—and on her first morning of Paris—while Chad led the others forth. Oh, she was up to her eyes; if she had stayed at home she had stayed by an understanding, arrived at the evening before, that Waymarsh would come and find her alone. This was beginning well—for a first day in Paris; and the thing might be amusing yet. But Mme. de Vionnet's earnestness was meanwhile beautiful. "You may think me indiscreet, but I've *such* a desire my Jeanne shall know an American girl of the really delightful kind. You see I threw myself for it on your charity."

The manner of this speech gave Strether such a sense of depths below it and behind it as he had not yet had—ministered in a way that almost frightened him to his dim divinations of reasons; but if Sarah still, in spite of it, faltered, this was why he had time for a sign of sympathy with her petitioner. "Let me say then, dear lady, to back your plea, that Miss Mamie is of the most delightful kind of all—is charming among the charming."

Even Waymarsh, though with more to produce on the subject, could get into motion in time. "Yes, Countess, the American girl is a thing that your country must at least allow ours the privilege to say we *can* show you. But her full beauty is only for those who know how to make use of her."

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"Ah then," smiled Mme. de Vionnet, "that's exactly what I want to do. I'm sure she has much to teach us."

It was wonderful, but what was scarce less so was that Strether found himself, by the quick effect of it, moved another way. "Oh, that may be! But don't speak of your own exquisite daughter, you know, as if she were not pure perfection. Mlle. de Vionnet," he explained, in considerable form, to Mrs. Pocock, "*is* pure perfection. Mlle. de Vionnet *is* exquisite."

It had been perhaps a little portentous, but "Ah?" Sarah simply glittered.

Waymarsh himself, for that matter, apparently recognized, in respect to the facts, the need of a larger justice, and he had with it an inclination to Sarah. "Miss Jane is strikingly handsome—in the regular French style."

It somehow made both Strether and Mme. de Vionnet laugh out, though at the very moment he caught in Sarah's eyes, as glancing at the speaker, a vague but unmistakable "You too?" It made Waymarsh in fact look consciously over her head. Mme. de Vionnet meanwhile, however, made her point in her own way. "I wish indeed I could offer you my poor child as a dazzling attraction: it would make one's position simple enough! She's as good as she can be, but of course she's different, and the question is now—in the light of the way things seem to go—if she isn't after all, *too* different: too different I mean from the splendid type every one is so agreed that your wonderful country produces. On the other hand, of course, Mr. Newsome, who knows it so well, has, as a good friend, dear kind man that he is, done everything he can—to keep us from fatal benightedness—for my small shy creature. Well," she wound up after Mrs. Pocock had signified, in a murmur still a little stiff, that she would speak to her own young charge on the question—"well, we shall sit, my child and I, and wait and wait and wait for you." But her last fine turn was for Strether. "Do speak of us in such a way—!"

"As that something can't but come of it? Oh, something *shall* come of it! I take a great interest!" he further declared; and in proof of it, the next moment, he had gone with her down to her carriage.

*(To be continued.)*

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